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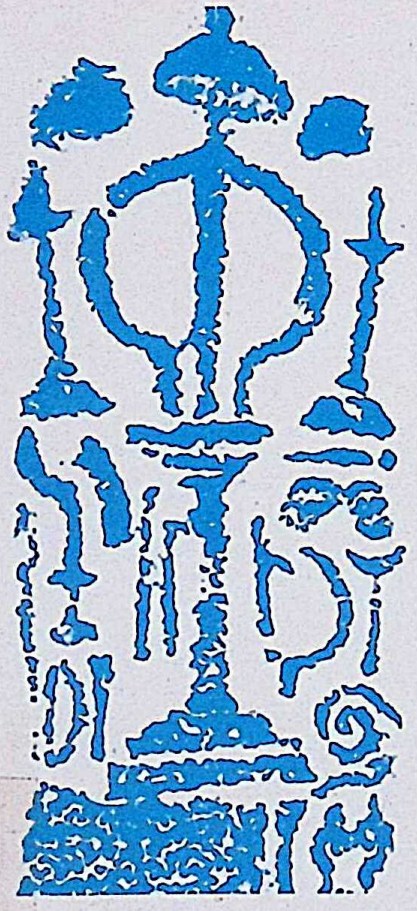
Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds

Report of the Taisho University Research Project 1997-2000

Edited by
Noboru Karashima



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Preface

This is the report of the international project entitled 'Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean as Revealed from Inscriptions and Chinese Ceramic-sherds' and organised by me with financial aid granted by Taisho University. Field work for this project was conducted in India and Sri Lanka twice in 1997 and 1998 and in Myanmar in 2000, during which we examined inscriptions and ceramic-sherds with the help of scholars of the respective countries. The members who participated in this project are as follows:

Noboru Karashima,	Professor, Taisho University.
Yoshihiro Matsunami,	President, Taisho University.
Ryojun Sato,	Professor, Taisho University.
(The late) Yasushi Ogura,	Associate Professor, University of Tokyo
Yoh Kanazawa,	Curator, Idemitsu Museum of Art.
Nobuhiro Ota,	Assistant, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
S. Pathmanathan,	Professor, Peradeniya University.
S.U. Deraniyagala,	Director General, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, Rtd.
Malini Dias,	Director of Epigraphy and Numismatics, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka.
Y. Subbarayalu,	Professor, Tamil University.
P. Shanmugam,	Professor, University of Madras.

Prior to this project I had organised yet another international project entitled 'Re-considering the Relations between South Asia and Southeast Asia during Ancient and Medieval Times' with grant-in-aid from the Ministry of Science and Education, Japan, and visited Vietnam (1991 and 1995), Laos (1992), Cambodia (1995), Indonesia (1993), Malaysia (1994) and Thailand (1994) with Indian and Japanese scholars.[1]

---

[1] The scholars who participated in this project were Yoshiaki Ishizawa, Professor, Sophia University; Yumio Sakurai, Professor, University of Tokyo; (The late) Yasushi Ogura, Associate Professor, University of Tokyo; K.V. Ramesh, Joint-Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, Rtd.; K.V. Raman, Professor, University of Madras, Rtd.; Y. Subbarayalu, Professor, Tamil University; P. Shanmugam, Professor, University of Madras, and myself.

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First, let me explain the purpose of this earlier project. It was to reconsider the concept of 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia during the ancient period, the idea entertained and popularised by some European and Indian scholars before World War II. For example, G. Coedes and N.J. Krom argued that the Indian culture brought into Southeast Asia facilitated State formation there and R.C. Majumdar and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri supported their arguments by providing more evidence.

World War II, however, changed the trend seen in past studies of historical relations between South Asia and Southeast Asia and also of the historical development of Southeast Asian societies. Historians in Southeast Asian countries, which attained independence, started to explain the State formation in a different way, namely, as a process of spontaneous development of society independent of 'Indianization'. Indian scholars after Independence, on their part, seem to have forgotten the alleged influence India exercised on State formation in Southeast Asia, being busy with liberating their own past from British bias and developing their own interpretation of ancient and medieval history. Western scholars also seem to have lost their interest in the relations between South Asia and Southeast Asia for some time as a consequence of their having lost their colonies in these regions.

Consequently, scholars in India and Southeast Asia have remained for some time mutually ignorant of the research developments in each other's regions, as the habit of viewing both regions from one and the same angle, such as through the concept of 'Indianization', has been lost. Hence, the necessity for re-examining relations between India and Southeast Asia. But, how and from what angle? The recognition of this necessity, however, luckily was shared by many scholars in the world and there began to appear in the 1990s new studies of the relation from the angle of commercial networks between the regions, such as East--West, Rome--India, or India--Southeast Asia. These studies coincided with and were stimulated by the new archaeological discoveries made in India and Southeast Asia. In this sense, the Taisho University project begun in 1997 should in effect be regarded as a continuation of the previous project.

Though attention has recently begun to be paid to the commercial activities conducted in the Indian Ocean prior to the coming of the Europeans, works dealing with this earlier period are much less numerous compared to the large number of works on activities following the coming of the Europeans, if we exclude the works on the Roman trade of the first to the third centuries. The few recent works on the earlier period, after the Roman trade and before the coming of the Europeans, include K.R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the*

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Colas; Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*; and R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 B.C. to A.D. 1300*. The work by Abraham, which studies the famous south Indian merchant guilds called *manigramam* and *ainurruvar*, is certainly regarded as an important contribution to our understanding of the commerce in medieval Indian Ocean, since she surveys a good number of inscriptions relating to these guilds. However, there are many more inscriptions not examined by Abraham, and moreover, since the publication of her book there have been discoveries of important inscriptions relating to these merchant guilds, through which we can gain a better knowledge of their activities and their historical implications.

Beside the merchant guild inscriptions, Chinese ceramic-sherds discovered in Southeast Asia, South Asia and West Asia are another important indicator of the vigorous mercantile activities of their respective times. In Southeast Asia and West Asia there have been discoveries of a great number of sherds of Chinese ceramics brought from China during and after the ninth century, in contrast to almost no information about them on the Indian coast. Recently however, there have been reported several discoveries including ours, which also enable us to understand better the development of trade during the period from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Such was my reason for organising the Taisho University project.

This report consists, therefore, of three parts: Part I dealing with the inscriptions of the merchant guilds, Part II with Chinese ceramics, and Part III with historical relations between the two regions. All three parts consist of several chapters, including a general survey of the topic and studies of some particular inscription or site, or of a problem, written by the members and some affiliated scholars. In Part II, I have included the results of yet another project organised for the study of the Chinese ceramic-sherds discovered on the Indian coast.[2]

I have also included in Part III the papers written by Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Prof. K.V. Raman, members of my former project, as those papers have remained unpublished. The Appendices give the texts and translations of some important inscriptions, and also the list of the

---

[2] This project was carried out from 1987 to 1989 organised with financial aid granted by the Mitsubishi Foundation, Tokyo and its members included Prof. Yoji Aoyagi of Sophia University, Prof. Eiji Nitta of Kagoshima University, Mr. Yoh Kanazawa of the Idemitsu Museum of Art, Prof. Hideo Ogawa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Prof. Y. Subbarayalu of Tamil University, Prof. P. Shanmugam of Madras University, Prof. Raghava Varier of Calicut University (Rtd), and myself.

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merchant-guild inscriptions we have checked for this project. The scholars affiliated to the Taisho University project, who contributed papers to this report, are as follows:

S. Rajagopal,	Epigraphist, State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.
K.P. Rao,	Reader, University of Hyderabad.
Hanae Sasaki,	Associate Professor, Kanazawa University.

It is my painful duty to record here the passing away in 1998, at the young age of thirty-eight, of Prof. Yasushi Ogura, Sanskritist and art historian, who participated in both the projects, in which he acted also as the coordinator of the team. He met with a fatal car accident.

I am grateful to Taisho University for granting us generous aid for this project including the expenses for the publication of this report. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to all those including the Government authorities, who helped us in the course of our project in the various countries. I hope this report will provide readers with new knowledge and facilitate further studies.

Kamakura
March 21, 2002

Noboru Karashima

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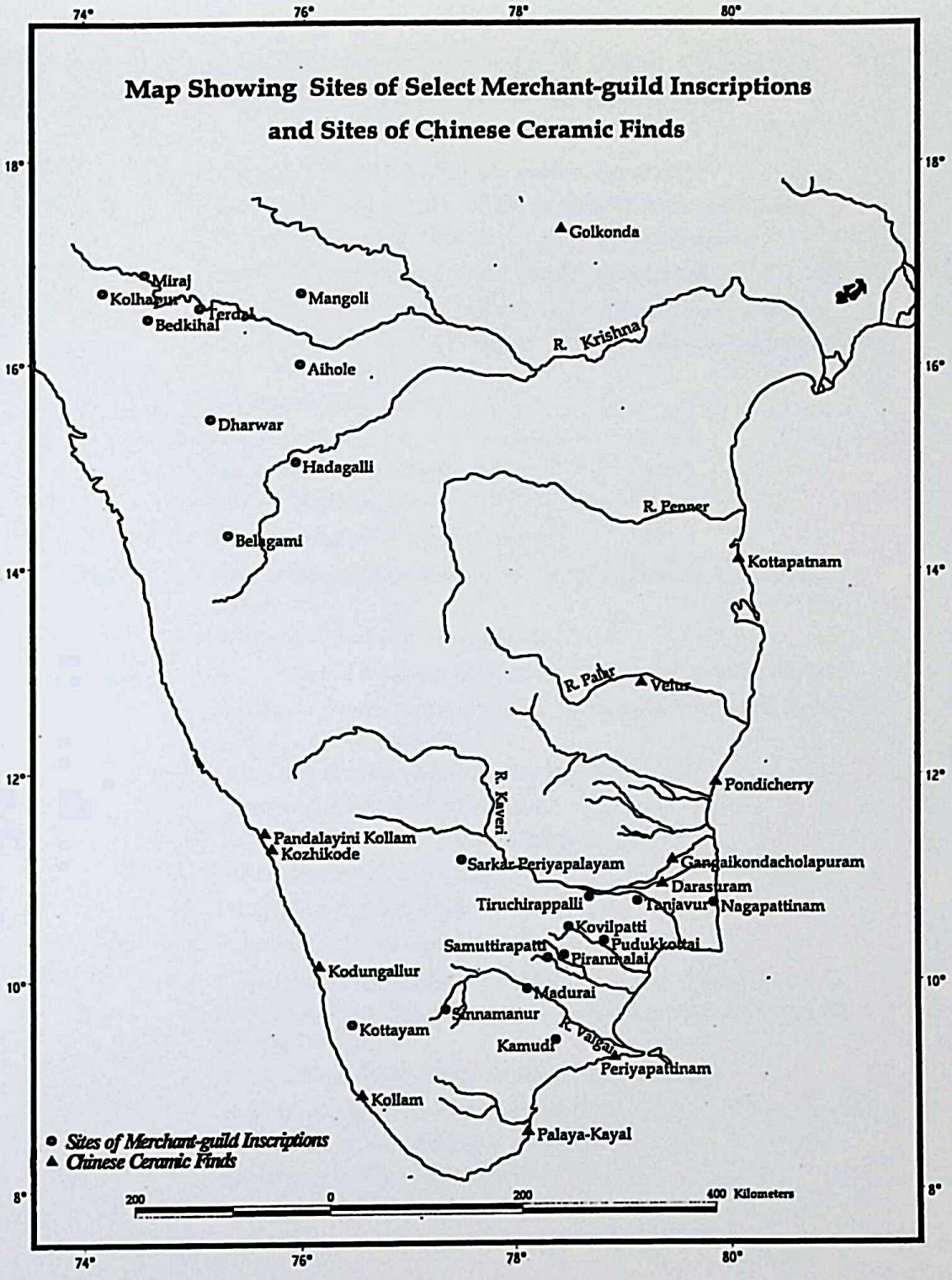

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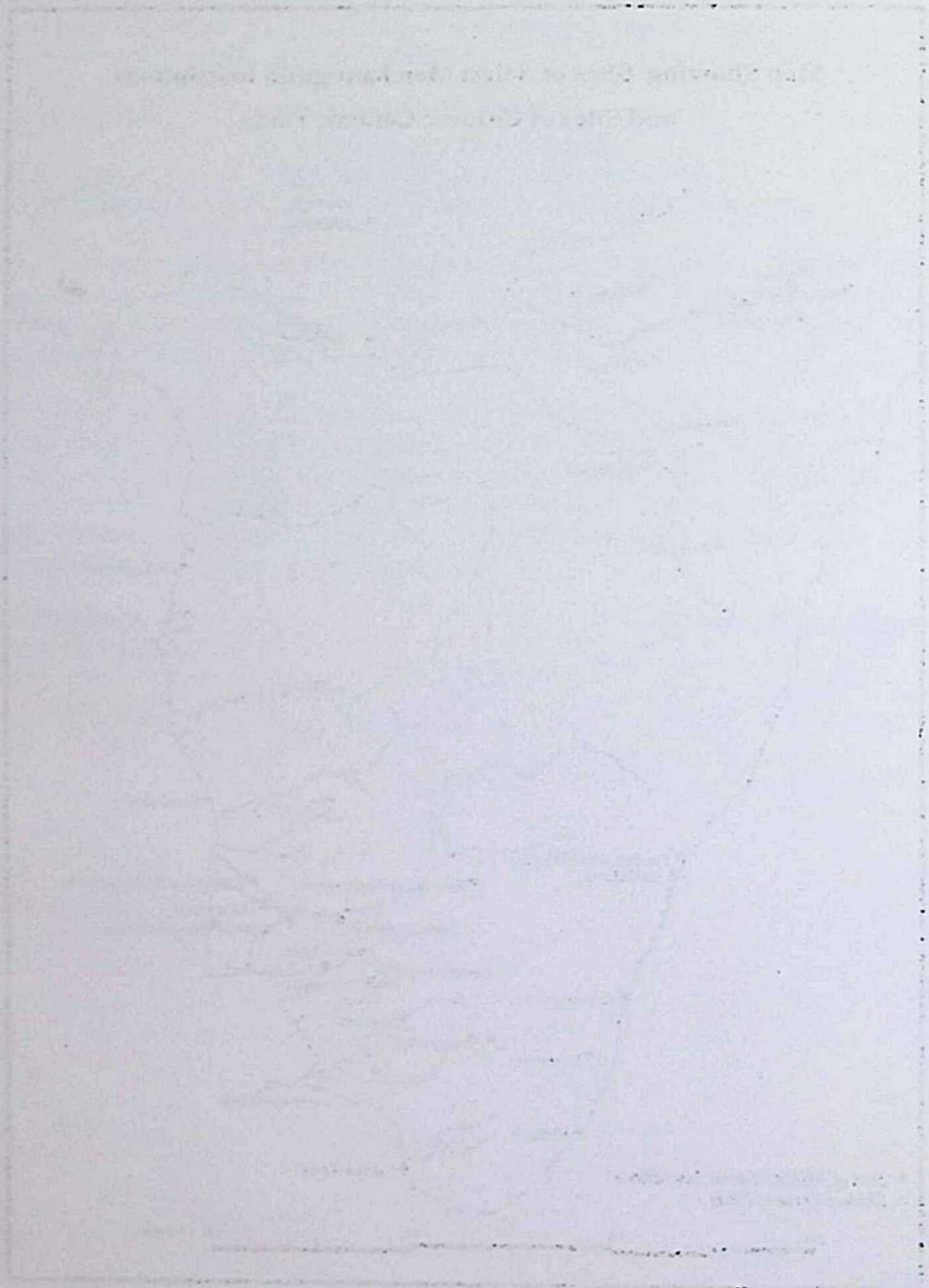

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Abbreviations to References

ARE	--- *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy.*
BSOAS	--- *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CITD	--- *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Telengana Districts.*
CTI	--- *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions,* ed. A. Veluppillai.
DK1	--- *Dharmapuri Mavatta Kalvettugal* (Dharmapuri District Inscriptions) vol. I (Publ. by Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology).
EC	--- *Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EI	--- *Epigraphia Indica.*
EZ	--- *Epigraphia Zeylanica.*
IA	--- *Indian Antiquary.*
IAP	--- *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh.*
IATR-CS	--- *International Association of Tamil Research, Conference Seminar.*
IPS	--- *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State.*
JMBRAS	--- *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KI	--- *Kannada Inscriptions* (Publ. by Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar University).
KR	--- *Kannada Research Institute Report.*
MAR	--- *Mysore Archaeological Report.*
NI	--- *Inscriptions of the Nellore District.*
SII	--- *South Indian Inscriptions.*
TI	--- *Telengana Inscriptions.*
TAS	--- *Travancore Archaeological Series.*
TBG	--- *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde uitgegeven het Bataviaasch Gevootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*
TSDA	--- Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.
Tya	--- Personal Collection of Inscriptions with Dr. L. Thyagarajan, Government Arts College, Ariyalur.
UCR	--- *University of Ceylon Review.*

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Part I

Inscriptions

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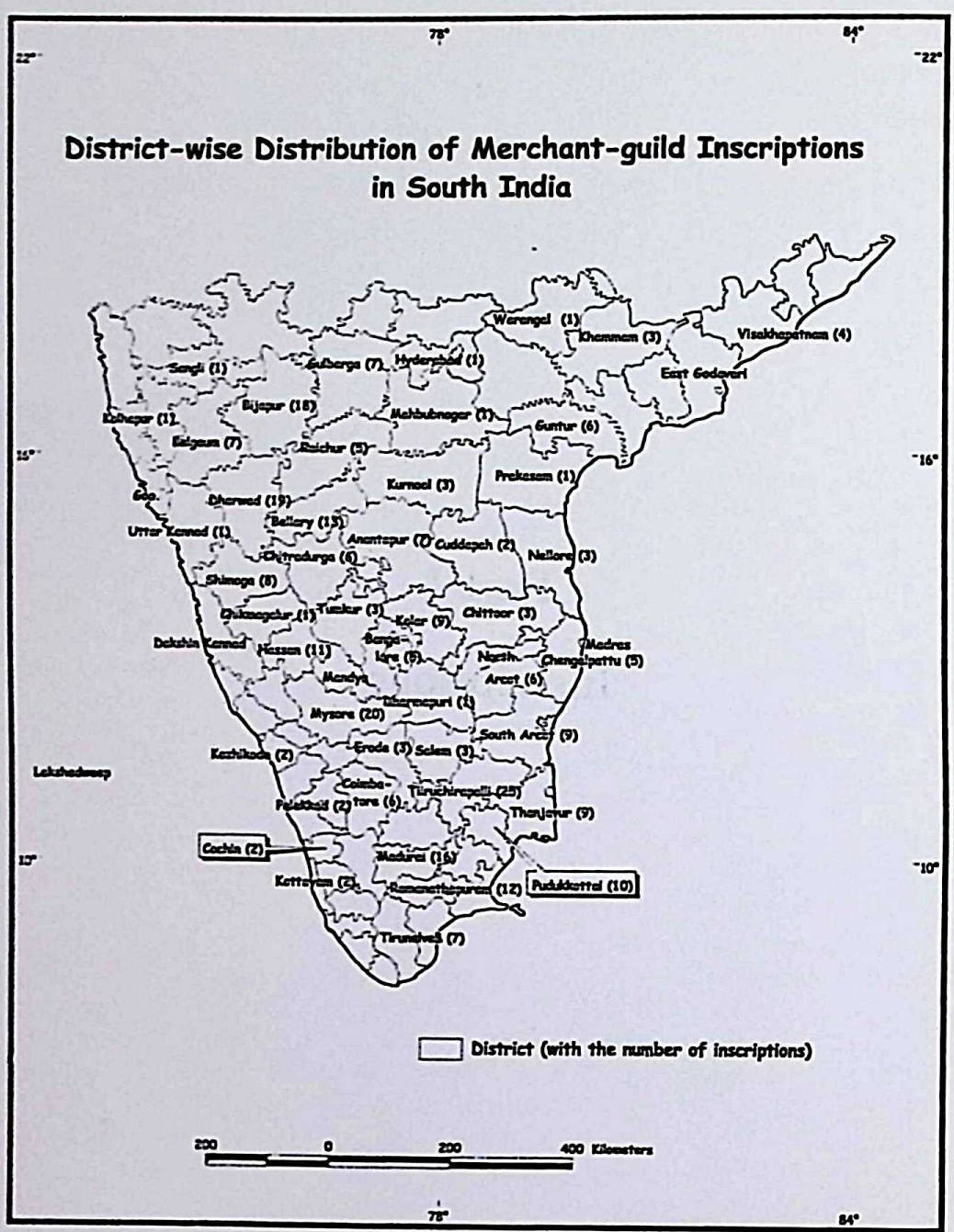

Map 1. District-wise Distribution of Merchant - guild Inscriptions in South India

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1

South Indian and Sri Lankan Inscriptions Relating to the Merchant Guilds

N. Karashima

Since 1980s much attention is being paid to the merchant activities in the Indian Ocean. However, the works so far published deal mostly with the period after the coming of Europeans, and there are comparatively much less number of works which study the period prior to it, except the works dealing with the Roman trade (1st to 3rd century). Those few works which study the period after the Roman trade and before the coming of Europeans include Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, and R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*. All these give more attention to the commercial activities which were vigorously carried out under the banner of merchant guilds from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, coinciding with the rule by the Cholas and the Chalukyas in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka respectively.

K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar, G.S. Dikshit and K. Indrapala were the pioneers who studied these guilds, and Abraham, based on the studies of those pioneers, concentrated her study on the two important guilds called Maṇigrāmam and Ainūrruvar. For her study, she collected nearly 150 inscriptions which refer to those guilds and advanced the past studies to a great extent. However, in addition to the inaccuracy, in several cases, of her (or past scholars') reading of those inscriptions, there are still many more inscriptions referring to the guilds, if we search for them carefully, and moreover there have been discoveries of several important inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka after the publication of her book. That is the reason why I organised the Taisho University project in collaboration with Indian and Sri Lankan scholars.

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We visited many places in India, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, where the important inscriptions were found, and took estampages for our study. There are quite a number of cases in which we were able to correct or improve the reading of the inscriptions by the past scholars. At the same time we tried to collect more number of the inscriptions referring to the merchant guilds. The number of inscriptions that were collected for the list in this report amounts to 314 (Appendix 4). I shall make a brief survey here of the issues in the merchant guild studies. The terms Ainūṟṟuvar, Maṇigrāmam, Nānādēsi, Padineṇ-vishayam, Padineṇ-bhūmi and Añjuvaṇṇam are usually interpreted as the name of some merchant guild, though Nānādēsi, Padineṇ-vishayam and Padineṇ-bhūmi are to be regarded as synonymous with the Ainūṟṟuvar, literally 'the Five Hundred Members', which is the most prominent among all. The inscriptions relating to merchant guild in this report, therefore, mean basically those which refer to one of those guilds.

Many scholars have traced the origin of the Ainūṟṟuvar to Aihoḷe, a town in north Karnataka, since there remain two inscriptions of the eighth century which are supposed to refer to the Ainūṟṟuvar and also since the eulogy of Ainūṟṟuvar found in the inscriptions in and after the tenth century refer to Aihoḷe as the guild's original place. However, the Ainūṟṟuvar referred to in the two early inscriptions of Aihoḷe and also in a few other inscriptions of the twelfth century in the same place, is a Brahmin organization, mentioned as the five-hundred *chaturvēdin*s or *mahājana*s. The reason why the eulogy of Ainūṟṟuvar in the later-century inscriptions, which record merchant activities, claims their origin to Aihoḷe remains therfore still unclear.

As our survey of inscriptions is not exhaustive at the present stage, tentatively the chronological and topographical distributions of the listed inscriptions which relate to merchant guilds are as given in Table 1.1 below. The first interesting thing we notice from the chronological distribution is the good number of inscriptions in Tamil Nadu for the tenth century in contrast to the very few inscriptions in Karnataka for the same period. Though five of the inscriptions in Tamil Nadu of this period refer to only Maṇigrāmam, there are nineteen other inscriptions which mention the Ainūṟṟuvar. In contrast to this, only one inscription in Karnataka refers to the Ainūṟṟuvar, and even if we include the two Aihoḷe inscriptions referring to the term Ainūṟṟvar datable to c. AD 800, the number would be only three for Karnataka. Again, though there are twenty-five Ainūṟṟuvar inscriptions in Karnataka for the eleventh century, only three of them belong to the earlier half of that period. Moreover, those three inscriptions come from southern Karnataka, namely Mysore (including Mandya) District, which came under the Chola occupation during the first half of the eleventh century, and are dated by the regnal year of the Chola kings Rājēndra I and Rājādhirāja I. Two of them are actually written in Tamil language. These findings seem to suggest that the activities of Ainūṟṟuvar first started in Tamil Nadu. The earliest inscriptions which have the eulogy of Ainūṟṟuvar come from Kamudi in Ramanathapuram District in

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Table 1.1

Chronological and Topographical Distribution of Merchant Guild Inscriptions

Period	AP	KL	KN	MH	TN	SL	SEA	Total
801-900	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	5
901-1000	0	2	1	0	24	0	0	27
1001-1100	5	3	25	0	18	1	1	53
1101-1200	6	0	56	2	12	11	0	87
1201-1300	9	2	33	0	46	1	1	92
1301-1400	6	0	8	0	11	2	0	27
1401-1600	9	0	6	0	5	0	0	20
?	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
Total	35	8	133	2	118	15	3	314

AP = Andhra, KL = Kerala, KN = Karnataka,
MH = Maharashtra, TN = Tamil Nadu, SL = Sri Lanka,
SEA = South-east Asia

the case of Tamil Nadu and from Bedkihal in Belgaum District in the case of Karnataka. The former is datable to the middle of the tenth century and the latter is dated to 1000. Strangely, these eulogies already show to some extent a mature stage, and therefore, further studies are required as to where and how the formation of the Ainūṟṟuvar was made. Another notable point in the chronological distribution is the decline in the occurrence of the inscriptions in Tamil Nadu during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Why in this period when the Cholas were at the zenith of their power, we need some explanation.

An interesting point found in the topographical distribution (Table 1.2) is the concentration of inscriptions in two different localities in Karnataka, one, Dharwar–Bijapur and the other, Mysore. While the former area was the centre of commercial activities for Karnataka merchants, hence the concentration, the good number in Mysore District may be explained by the activities of Tamil merchants who accompanied the Chola army to that area, as discussed by Abraham.[1] In Tamil Nadu, though the past studies have focussed their attention on Pudukkottai District in relation to the Maṇigrāmam merchant activities, as there were discovered several related inscriptions earlier, the fact is that there are found actually more number of inscriptions in Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai Districts than in Pudukkottai District. In future, therefore, more attention should be paid to the wider area including those districts.

[1] Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 151ff.

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Table 1.2

District-wise Distribution of Merchant Guild Inscriptions[2]

Area	Inscriptions	Area	Inscriptions
	ANDHRA PRADESH		
Anantapur	7	Chittoor	3
Cuddapah	2	Guntur	6
Hyderabad	1	Khammam	3
Kurnool	3	Mahbubnagar	1
Nellore	3	Prakasam	1
Warangal	1	Visakhapatnam	4
	KARNATAKA		
Bijapur	18	Belagaum	7
Bellary	13	Bangalore	5
Chikmagalur	1	Chitradurga	6
Dharwar	19	Gulbarga	7
Hassan	11	Kolar	9
Mysore	20	North Kanara	1
Raichur	5	Shimoga	8
Tumkur	3		
	KERALA		
Cochin	2	Kottayam	2
Kozikkodu	2	Palghat	2
	MAHARASHTRA		
Kolhapur	1	Sangli	1
	TAMIL NADU		
Coimbatore	6	Chingeleput	5
Dharmapuri	1	Madurai	16
North Arcot	6	Pudukkottai	10
Erode	3	Ramanathapuram	12
South Arcot	9	Salem	3
Thanjavur	15	Tiruchirappalli	25
Tirunelveli	7		
	SRI LANKA		
	15		
	SOUTHEAST ASIA		
	3		
Total			314

[2] The districts refer to the old districts as referred to in the epigraphical publications, for convenience's sake. Many of them have been bifurcated during the last two decades.

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There is a variety in the contents of these inscriptions. Some inscriptions give mention to a temple or a tank named after these merchant guilds, like the Pagan Tamil inscription in Myanmar which refers to *nānādēsi-viṇṇagar* and a Munisandai inscription (Pudukkottai Dt.) which refers to the tank called *ainūṟṟuvar-pērēri*. Some record the donation made by a person belonging to the Ainūṟṟuvar like the Konerirajapuram inscription (Thanjavur Dt.) which records that a Veṇkādan Siṅgam *alias* Disai-yāyiratt-ainūṟṟuvan granted a land to temple for burning a perpetual lamp. Some others tell us that the guild was entrusted with the work to protect something, like the Takua Pa inscription in the Malay peninsula which records that Maṇigrāmam and Sēnāmugam were asked to protect the tank named Śrī-avaninārāṇam. However, there are a good number of inscriptions which record the resolution or agreement made in a big assembly of the merchants. If we select those inscriptions for examination, we immediately come to notice the difference among them, which enables us to classify them broadly into the following two types, one, those which describe the conferment of the name *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* on a certain town by the Ainūṟṟuvar, and the other, those which record the grant to temple by the same body of the income called *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* in Tamil inscriptions and *dharmāyam* or just *āyam* in Kannada inscriptions, which accrues from the sale of merchandise. Of course, this classification is typological, and there are variations in each and there are also some other inscriptions which record different matters, such as the assembly's verdict of punishment on a non-Ainūṟṟuvar member who committed a crime against an Ainūṟṟuvar member. We have selected fifty-five typical inscriptions (Appendix 3)[3], for our close study, which include different categories mentioned above, but many of which record either *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* conferment or *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* grant. Accordingly, we have made studies of these two topics in Chapters 4 and 10 respectively and also a study of the Ainūṟṟuvar body in particular in Chapter 9.

Eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam has been interpreted variously by different scholars in the past studies,[4] for example as 'mercantile town' by T.N. Subramaniam, 'fortified mart' by Venkatarama Ayyar, and as 'market-towns protected by *eṟivīrar* (warriors) by Indrapala. Hall takes it as an emporium established in some remote area occupying a commercial stance between the *nagarams* and the *paṭṭinams*. Champakalakshmi regards it as the privileged town which has the protected warehouse for the itinerant merchants. Though we are not to reject these interpretations categorically, especially that by Indrapala, our interpretation is somewhat different. We obtained the idea from a comparative study of some inscriptions of Tamil Nadu and of Sri Lanka including the recently discovered Samuttirapatti inscription in Tamil Nadu and Viharehinna and Budumuttava inscriptions in Sri Lanka, and afterwards it was found that this new interpretation is quite applicable to many other inscriptions referring

[3] See The texts of forty of these inscriptions with translations/summaries are given in Appendix 2.

[4] For details, see Chapter 4.

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to *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* in Tamil Nadu and even to those in Karnataka.

The Samuttirapatti inscription tells us that the merchants of Ainūṟṟuvar conferred the name of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* on the town where they and their guardsmen called *vīrakoḍiyār* live and granted some privilege to the *vīrakoḍiyār* in appreciation of the brave deed they had done. The *vīrakoḍiyār* who were thus honoured seem to have won in some fighting against their enemies (some merchants?) who were antagonistic to the Ainūṟṟuvar merchants of this town and rescued three important Ainūṟṟuvar members. The Viharehinna inscription, the estampage of which was taken by us afresh, records that the *vīrakoḍiyār* reciprocated the honour given to them by the merchants of the town by relinquishing some income which they were entitled to take from the people of the town. The honour is stated as the conferment of the name of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* on the town where they lived and the ransom money that the merchants paid to release a *vīrakoḍiyār* who was put into jail by the local ruler. Our interpretation, therefore, is that *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* is the name of the town conferred on it by the merchants of Ayyāvoḷe in appreciation of the brave deed done for them by the *vīrakoḍiyār*, who are stated in many inscriptions to be 'our (Ainūṟṟuvar merchants) sons'. We get the impression that the armed men like the *vīrakoḍiyār* were part of all the mercantile towns of the period under study. *Eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* is therefore not necessarily the town whose location is restricted to some remote area or the town which has the protected warehouse, though further studies are required on this aspect. A study of the Viharehinna inscription made by Subbarayalu and myself is given in Chapter 4.

The inscriptions which record *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* grant in Tamil Nadu are found mostly in the thirteenth century, though we find the inscriptions of this type in Karnataka for all the centuries starting from the eleventh century. Some good examples in Tamil Nadu are the inscriptions of Sarkar Periyapalaiyam, Piranmalai and Kovilpatti. The last inscription enumerates four groups of merchants who made the resolution of the grant, but afterwards enumerates also the names of four *nagarams*. It is presumed that the merchants of those four *nagarams* actually granted a certain amount of money or commodities, the rate of which, based on the sale of merchandise, was specified. The merchandise include pepper, areca-nuts, cloth bundle, horse, camel, cow, buffalo, calf, young-bull, agar, sandal, camphor, metal rod, paddy, millet, straw, bengal gram, beans, and tamarind. A good example in Karnataka is the Miraj inscription, which mentions twenty-one groups as those who decided the grant and enumerates the merchandise with the rate of contribution specified for each of them. An interesting point is the difference in the number of the merchant groups involved in *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi/dharmāyam* grant between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The difference between the large number of groups in Karnataka and the smaller number of groups in Tamil Nadu needs explanation. A suggestion is made on this point in Chapter 9, and the issues concerning *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* are discussed by Shanmugam in Chapter 10.

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The tendency that the *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* inscriptions are found in the earlier centuries and the *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* inscriptions are found in the later centuries needs explanation. As understood from the contents of the *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* inscriptions, the increase of their number may indicate the increase of the power by warrior groups in the society. We do yet not know much about the composition of the Chola army, but it seems to have had some relationship with the merchant groups, especially with the warriors employed by them, as indicated by the famous Polonnaruwa inscription in Sri Lanka, in which those warriors, who were asked by the ruler to protect the Buddhist temple there, claim to have had close relationship with the merchants (*vaḷañjeyar* and *nagarattār*).[5] The warrior groups seem to have increased their power during the eleventh century through their association with the army. However, we have very little knowledge about their communities. I have once clarified the acquisition of land by the Churudimans in the Tiruchirapalli area during the thirteenth century.[6] The Pallis also seem to have gained power during the same period. Both of them were originally hill tribes of that area. Though they seem to be different from those warrior groups who appear in *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* inscriptions, their gaining power also may be explained by their association with the Chola army during the period prior to the thirteenth century. Further studies are desired on the warrior groups and the Chola army.

If the eleventh century was the century of warriors, the thirteenth century was that of merchants in Tamil Nadu. It is attested to also by the discovery of a great number of Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the thirteenth century and after in the coastal towns in Tamil Nadu, as shown in the chapters in Part II. Artisans also gained power during the same period, which is indicated by the increase of references to the Kaikkōḷa, Kaṇmāḷa and other artisan communities in the inscriptions of the thirteenth century. They are actually found being included in Ainūṟṟuvar assembly. These explain to some extent the appearing of many *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* inscriptions in Tamil Nadu in the thirteenth century and after. However, the relationship that the merchant groups had with the state should be studied further, and so also the reason for the chronologically wider distribution of *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi/dharmāyam* inscriptions in Karnataka.

There are many problems to be clarified in future concerning the activities of those merchant guilds. The most difficult problem is the definition of Ainūṟṟuvar itself, or the question what constituted the Ainūṟṟuvar, and our tentative answer to this question is given in Chapter 9.

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[5] *EI*, XVIII, 38.

[6] N. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984, p. 30.

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2

Tamil Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China

N. Karashima

In Southeast Asia there are a good number of inscriptions written in Indian languages. Though most of them are in Sanskrit, there are some which are written in Tamil. Here we shall make a brief survey of those Tamil inscriptions discovered in Southeast Asia and also in China. There are seven inscriptions as a whole.

The inscription coming chronologically first is the one we saw in the temple museum of Wat Khlong Thom, Krabi Province, southern Thailand, when we made a survey in Thailand in 1992. In that museum we found a small flat rectangular stone (3.7 cm x 7.5 cm x 3 cm) in green colour, on one side of which eight Tamil Brahmi letters are inscribed (Plate 1). They read '*perumpatan kal*' meaning '(This is) the (touch) stone of Perumpatan'. *Perum* means big, *patan* (*pattan*) means goldsmith, and therefore, Perumpatan is either the title or the name of a goldsmith who possessed this touch-stone. This is the first Tamil inscription in Brahmi script of the third or fourth century A.D. discovered in Southeast Asia.

This stone certainly indicates the migration of a Tamil goldsmith from south India. The place where this stone was discovered is famous for yielding a large number of beads and similar objects and is locally called 'bead mound' (Khuan Luk Pat).[1] In the above museum are displayed a number of beads and precious stone ornaments inscribed with north Indian Brahmi script, and also some moulds for making those objects. This place, therefore, seems to have been an important centre for manufacturing them and some Indians were included among the artisans.

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[1] Ian C. Glover, 'Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early Maritime Contacts between India and Southeast Asia', *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed., Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, Manohar, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 129–58

For the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries there are a good number of Sanskrit inscriptions in Southeast Asia including the Kutei inscriptions of Mūlavarman, the Bogor inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman and the Nakon-si-thamarat (Ligor) inscription of a Śrī Vijaya king. However, no discovery of Tamil inscription of this period has been reported so far, and therefore, the second Tamil inscription is the one dated to the ninth century, which comes from Takua Pa, north of Krabi, southern Thailand. We examined this inscription also in 1992.

Takua Pa is usually believed to have been the ancient Takkōla mentioned by Ptolemy, though it did not yield beads and other objects similar to those found in Arikamedu and Krabi. Instead, the site in Takua Pa has yielded some art objects belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries.[2] The stone bearing the so-called Takua Pa inscription (Plate 1), now preserved in the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum, is said to have been originally discovered in a small hill along the Takua Pa river together with a stone Vishṇu and other statues of South Indian Pallava style. The text of this Tamil inscription was first published with a facsimile of the estampage by E. Hultzsch[3] in 1913 and later that was republished with some slight changes by Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of History, University of Madras.[4] The stone has undergone further damage since that estampage was taken, and some of the letters he read or suggested have disappeared for ever. However, as there is no substantial difference in our reading of the remaining portion, we may depend on the reading given by Nilakanta Sastri:

Text of the Takua Pa Inscription

1 *...[ya]ravarmakku*

2 *.. [m]āṉ tāṉ naṅg[u*]r[u*]ḍaiy[a]*

3 *[n] toṭṭa kuḷam pēr Śrī A[vani*]*

4 *nāraṇam maṇikkirāmattār[k]*

5 *[k]um sēṉāmugattārkkum*

6 *...apatārkkum aḍaikkalam*

This inscription seems to record that a tank was constructed by somebody and put under the protection of *maṇikkirāmattār*, *sēnāmugattār* and another similar body. Maṇigrāmam (*maṇikkirāmam*) is a famous merchant

[2] Tharapong Srisuchat, 'Thailand and the Maritime Silk Route: The Role of the Ancient Ports and Harbour Cities in Thailand' and Amara Srisuchat, 'Significant Archaeological Objects in Thailand Associated with Maritime Trade', both in *The Silpakorn Journal*, 33–36, 1990.

[3] E. Hultzsch, 'Note on a Tamil Inscription in Siam', *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 337–39.

[4] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Takua-pa (Siam) Tamil Inscription', *Journal of Oriental Research*, VI, 1932, pp. 299–310; 'Takuapa and Its Tamil Inscription', *JMBRAS*, XXII, 1949, pp. 25–30.

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guild which flourished in Tamil Nadu and Kerala in India from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.[5] We have many inscriptions referring to their activities in those areas. As to *sēnāmugam*, we rarely come across that word in south Indian Tamil inscriptions[6], but there is found a similar word such as *sēṉai* or *sēṉaiyār* along with the *maṇigrāmam* in south Indian inscriptions[7] and there are a few Javanese inscriptions referring to *senāmugam*.[8] As this term appears in Javanese inscriptions also in the enumeration of the terms indicating merchant groups such as *hunjamman* (*añjuvaṇṇam* in Tamil inscriptions) and others, we may take it as a merchant community. Anyway, this inscription gives a clear evidence for activities of the Tamil merchants carried out in Southeast Asia. Nilakanta Sastri suggested the reading of the tank's name as Śrī Avaninārāṇam. If this is the case, the Pallava connection of this inscription may be acceptable, as *avaninārāṇan* is an epithet of Nandivarman III, the Pallava king (AD 846–869). Even otherwise, the date of the inscription can safely be fixed palaeographically in the ninth century.

The next Tamil inscription comes from Barus in northwestern Sumatra, which we examined in Jakarta in 1994 when we made a survey in Indonesia. The stone was originally discovered about 1890 in Lubo Tuo (Loboe Toewa) near Barus (Baros), and the estampage was examined by E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist of the Madras Presidency, who reported it briefly in *Madras Epigraphy Report 1891–92*.

Nilakanta Sastri discussed the problem of the *ainūṟṟuvar* guild mentioned in the inscription by examining several south Indian inscriptions referring to it.[9] Though he made a fine study of *ainūṟṟuvar* in his article, he could not read the text of the Barus inscription, as it was not given by Hultzsch in his report. Hultzsch reported it as much mutilated and gave only the date of the inscription (Śaka 1010, i.e., AD 1088) and a brief comment on the contents that 'it records a gift by a body of persons who are styled "one thousand-five-hundred"'. Hultzsch's report was the source for Nilakanta Sastri and has remained the only source for scholars for more than a century. To our surprise, we saw the stone containing the inscription almost intact in the National Museum in Jakarta in January 1994. Permission was granted to us for taking estampages,[10] and we were able to make for the first time the full text of this important inscription. It confirms the date and the brief contents given by

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[5] Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988.

[6] One rare instance is found in Nagapattinam *SII*, II, 66, p. 260 (AD 1014); *ARE*, 1956–57, 158 (AD 1018).

[7] *ARE*, 1964–65, 308 (Valikandapuram, Tiruchirappalli Dt.); Ibid., 1905, 603 (Tillasthanam, Thanjavur Dt.)

[8] H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Mukhopadhay, Calcutta, 1971/72. vol. I, p. 53 and vol. II, p. 276.

[9] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra', *TBG*, LXXII, 1932.

[10] We are grateful to Dr. Suwati Kartiwa, Director, National Museum in Jakarta, for the permission.

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Hultzsch in his report, though his reading of the name of the merchant body as '1500' should be corrected to '500' as Nilakanta Sastri suggested. However, this inscription gives us some other new information, and the text prepared by Subbarayalu will be given in Chapter 3 together with a discussion on the new points.

There are two more so far unnoticed Tamil inscriptions which were examined by us in 1992 and 1994 respectively. One inscription comes from Nakhon Si Thammarat in Thailand. The stone bearing the inscription is preserved in a Buddhist temple (Wat Boroma That) and we were not allowed by the temple authority to take estampages or photographs. However, from our observation on the spot and our study of a photograph of the estampage (Plate 1) probably taken by the Archaeology Department and displayed in the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum, we were able to understand the following. The date is either 1183 or 1283. No king seems to have been mentioned. It records that one Danma Sēnāpati made a grant to Brahmanas in three shares. The stone is damaged and imprecatory sentences occupy nearly a half of the remaining part of the inscription. The donor, Danma Sēnāpati, may have been a merchant, but it is not verifiable.

Text of Wat Boroma That inscription in Nakhon Si Thammarat

1 *...svasti ś...*

2 *...rru ā...*

3 *...yum perra tiṅga...*

4 *...vān tanma sēnā*

5 *...parisāvadu brāhmaṇar pe...*

6 *..sti tanma sēnāpatigaḷ corpaḍi mūnru kūriṭṭu*

7 *...makkaḷukkum onru...kkaḷukkum o...*

8 *...vatukku tanmañce...*

9 *...ttai aḷivu ceydār uṇḍāgil keṅgaikkaraiyil*

10 *...ṅ kurāp pasuk konra pāvamum...vatai ce...*

11 *...mu mātā pitāk konra pāvamum...brahmasti..*

12 *...pāvamum...kārām pasu...*

13 *...tellām...t tanmattai aḷittār ta...*

14 *..l viḷuka danma sēnāpatigaḷ dīrgghāyu...*

The other inscription is also found in the National Museum in Jakarta. It is on a strangely shaped standing stone looking like a dance sculpture (height 130 cm), the top of which is sculpted with the head of Ganesa (Plate 2). The

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original location of the find is not ascertainable.[11] The inscription consists of two parts, one in Tamil and the other in Old Javanese. Both are badly worn out, but seem to convey the same contents.[12] The Tamil part seems to record that some *sēnāpati rakan dīpaṅkara* made a charitable deed for the merit of the king named as *peritu śrī mahārāja* (referred to as *pāduka śrī mahārāca* in Javanese). Dīpaṅkara is the name of a past Buddha and implies his Buddhist identity. *Rakan* is an Indonesian title given to a big person, and *sēnāpati* in this case seems to have been an army commander or general. The fact that the charity was made for the merit of the king also suggests that the donor was an influential personage. However, the reason why this inscription was written in Tamil also is unclear. Dīpaṅkara might have been a Tamil. The date calculated from the astronomical data given in the inscription corresponds to AD 1187, 1258 or 1265, but palaeographically the last two are more probable, namely in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Text of Dance Figure Inscription in the Jakarta Museum

A. Javanese section

1 *svasti śrī saka varshātīta... kārttika*

2 *māsa śukla paksha ēkādaśi sukra vāra rēvati nakshatra*

3 *lanan sēnāpati rakan dīpaṅkara mata pa...*

4 *hititallaḥ kaṅga sebharanamāña dīpaṅ...*

5. *haliga rākan puṇya pāduka śrī mahārāca...*

B. Tamil Section

6 *[sakara] yāṇṭu 11[.8]...*

7 *tikai mācattu ēkā...*

8 *rēvati nakshattirattuc...*

9 *dīpaṅkara kaṇṭa a...*

10 *[ca]kāmeṇa[pa]tuvat[ta]...*

11 *tum peritu śrī mahārāja...*

12 *[r]mam.*

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[11] The registration number of this stone is D-181. In the registration book the letters 'ov/Grucq 276' are also seen regarding this stone, though their meaning is unclear.

[12] For reading the old Javanese we were helped by Dr. M.M. Sukarto K. Atmodjo, the retired Epigraphist, Archaeology Department, Government of Indonesia.

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The next inscription coming from Pagan in Myanmar is related to merchant guild. Though the text of this inscription (Plate 2) is already published,[13] we examined it *in situ* in Pagan in 2000.The stone is now well preserved in Pagan National Museum and the text is complete. Though the date is not given, we can assign it to the thirteenth century as done by Hultzsch. In the first half of the inscription a Vaishṇavite *mantra* for righteous conduct is given in Sanskrit. The latter half records in Tamil the construction of a front hall in a Vishṇu temple and the installation of a door and a lamp into that hall by Irāyiran Siṟiyan *alias* Śrī Kulasēkhara [Na]mbi of Magōdayar-paṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam.

Text of Pagan inscription

1 *svasti śrī nāsthā dhanmē na vasu-nicayē naiva kāmōpa*

2 *bhōgē yat jat bhavyam bhavatu [bha*]gavan pūrvva kanm ānurūpam ēta*

3 *t prāthyām mama bahutama janma janmāntatarēpi tvat pādāmbhōrū*

4 *hai yuga gatā niścalā bhaktirastu||o||svasti śrī tiruccelvam peruga*

5 *pukkamāṉa arivattaṉapurattu nāṉādēśi viṇṇagar āḻvār kō*

6 *yil tiru maṇḍapamuñjeydu tirukkatavum iṭṭu inda maṇḍapa*

7 *ttukku niṉṟerigaikku nilai viḷakkoṉṟum iṭṭēṉ malai*

8 *maṇḍala[nn]u magōdayar paṭṭaṇa[tt]u irāyiraṉ śiṟiyānāṉa ci*

9 *kulaśēgara rambiyēṉ idu śrī idaṉmam malaimaṇḍalattāṉ.*

The temple in which the hall was constructed is called Nānādēsi-viṇṇagar (Vishṇu temple of *nānādēsi*). The name indicates the presence of the merchant guild, *nānādēsi*, the name which was often synonymously employed by the *ainūṟṟuvar*. Magōdayar-paṭṭaṇam from which the donor came is obviously the famous Chera capital Mahōdayapuram in Kerala (Malaimaṇḍalam).

The last inscription comes from China and is dated to the thirteenth century. More than twenty years ago, the late T.N. Subramaniam introduced to non-Chinese readers this inscription discovered in 1956 in Quanzhou, a famous medieval port in southern China.[14] Though we have had no occasion yet for seeing this inscription *in situ*, Subbarayalu and I made the text on the basis of photographs (Plate 2) taken and offered to us by Professor A. Matsu-ura and Mr. T. Omura. The inscription is engraved on two stones, originally forming a single stone, and we were able to improve the text made by Subramaniam

[13] E. Hultzsch, 'A Vaishnava Inscription at Pagan', *EI*, VII, 1903, pp. 197–98.

[14] T.N. Subramaniam, 'A Tamil Colony in Medieval China', R. Nagaswamy, (ed.), *South Indian Studies*, (vol. 1), Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research, Madras, 1978, pp. 1–52.

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to some extent, as the photograph on which Subramaniam depended does not afford the full view of the connecting edges of the stone. The text and translation we made are as follows:

Text of Quanzhou inscription

1 *haraḥ svasti śrī śagāptam 1203 vatu cittirai*

2 *ccittirai nāḷ śrī ce[kace]kāṉ tirumēṉikku naṉ*

3 *ṟāka uḍaiyār tiruk[kā]ṉiccuramuḍaiya nāyaṉārai*

4 *ēṟiyaruḷap paṇṇiṉār campandap perumāḷ*

5 *āṉa tavaccakkaravattikaḷ ce[ka]caikāṉ parmāṉ*

6. *paḍi.*

The above text reveals that in 1281 a Tamilian called Champanda Perumāḷ *alias* Tavach-chakkaravarttikaḷ, by permission of Chekachai Kān, i.e., Chechchai Khān (the Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan ?), installed an idol of Śiva there to pray for the health of the authority. The installation of a Śiva idol may well be taken for the establishment of a Śiva temple, which is called as Tirukkāṇichchuram, obviously named after the emperor (Khan) and it is quite interesting to note in this connection that in Quanzhou there are still many pieces of stone sculptures and pillars with carved designs, which represent Hindu religion. The sculptures and pillars remaining in a Buddhist temple called the Kaiyuansi were studied by A.K. Coomaraswamy,[15] the famous art historian, a long time ago, but since 1950s many more pieces have been excavated. These Hindu sculptures and pillars indicate that there was once a fairly big Hindu temple in Quanzhou. It has been suggested by a Chinese scholar that a Hindu temple called the Fanfosi was constructed by a son-in-law of Pu Shougeng, a famous Muslim high official living in Quanzhou during the thirteenth century,[16] but the Tamil inscription mentioned above may explain better the circumstances in which a Hindu temple was established in Quanzhou. Anyway, the existence of Śiva sculptures and a Tamil inscription reporting the establishment of a Hindu temple is a sure indication that there was a considerable Hindu Tamil population in Quanzhou during the thirteenth century.

The above examination of seven Tamil inscriptions discovered in Southeast Asia and China reveal the activities of Tamil merchants organised in corporate bodies such as *maṇigrāmam*, *ainūṟṟuvar* and *nānādēsi*. This is quite contrastive to the contents of the Sanskrit inscriptions[17] discovered in Southeast Asia, many of which were written in relation to the political activities of

[15] A.K. Coomaraswamy, 'Hindu Sculptures at Zayton', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, NF, 1933, pp. 5–11.

[16] Wu Wenliang, *Quanzhou Zangjiao Shike (Religious Stone Inscriptions in Quanzhou)*, Beijin, 1956, p. 59.

[17] See Chapter 16 for a discussion on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Southeast Asia.

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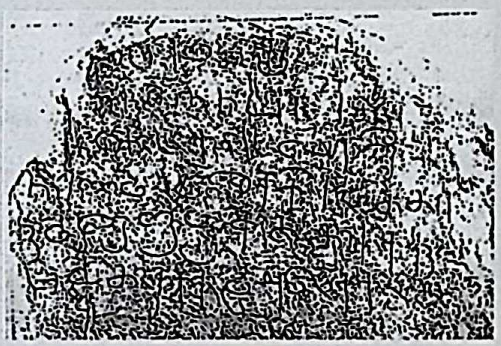
the local power, as shown by the above mentioned inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman. It is interesting to notice further that the activities of the merchant bodies in Tamil inscriptions show their non-commitment to any political power. Most of the *ainūṟṟuvar* inscriptions in south India and Sri Lanka have their own eulogy, instead of that of the king. For the protection of their property and life, they had their own soldiers. Anyway, this non-political character of the merchant guilds must have enabled them to conduct their overseas trade for centuries and to secure their fame.

Plate 1

1.1. Tamil Brahmi Inscription, Khuan Luk Pat, Thailand (Courtesy: Mr. T. Omura)



1.2. Tamil Inscription, Takua Pa, Thailand

1.3. Tamil Inscription, Wat Boromo That, Thailand

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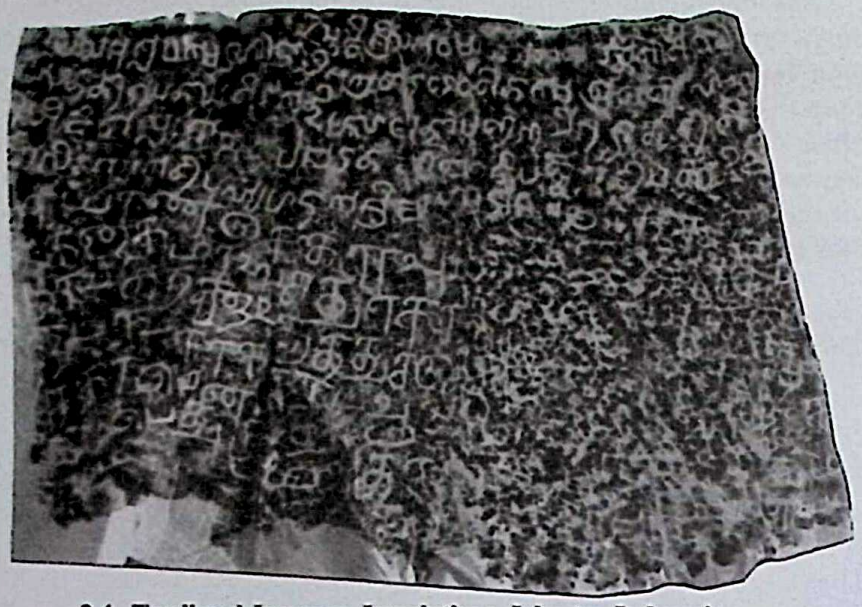

2.4. Tamil and Javanese Inscriptions, Jakarta, Indonesia

2.5. Tamil Inscription, Pagan, Myanmar

2.6. Tamil Inscription, Quanzhou, China
(Courtesy Mr. T. Omura)

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3

The Tamil Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus, Indonesia: A Rediscovery

Y. Subbarayalu

A Tamil inscription was found at Loboe Toewa[1], Barus (Baros) about 1890 and was briefly noticed in the *Madras Epigraphy Report 1891-92*, p. 11 by E. Hultzsch, Epigraphist to Government of Madras as follows:

> To the kindness of Dr. J. Brandes I am indebted to two casts of a Tamil inscription from Loboe Toewa, Baros, Sumatra which is in the Archaeological Collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Science (Catalogue), page 388, No.12. The original stone is badly broken and injured but so much is certain that the inscription is dated in the Saka year 1010 (AD 1088), and that it records a gift by a body of persons who are styled "one thousand-five-hundred". It is interesting to learn that the Tamil language was used in public documents on the island of Sumatra in the 11th century.

As this note was made when the Indian epigraphical studies were in the early stage, the importance of this inscription was not discussed seriously until a few decades later. In 1932, Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri published, on the basis of Hultzsch's note, an article entitled 'A Tamil Merchant-Guild in Sumatra' and since then that article has become the standard reference frequently quoted in all the later related studies[2]. The article is more a historical study

[1] Loboe Toewa is variously spelt as Labu Tuwa, Lobo Tua, Lubo Tuo. Baros is a variant of Barus.

[2] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'A Tamil Merchant-Guild in Sumatra', *TBG*, LXXII, 2 (1932), pp. 314–27. Reprinted in Idem., *South India and South-east Asia*, Geetha Book House, Mysore, 1978, pp. 236–47.

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of the merchant guild, called usually the Ayyāvoḷe-Five-Hundred or just the Five-Hundred, than a study of the Barus inscription. Even then, the learned Professor's brief comment on the importance of the inscription is noteworthy.

> ...The Loboe Toewa fragment is valuable as tangible evidence that their [i.e., the merchant guild's] trading activity had spread to Sumatra. Perhaps it is not correct to infer from this that 'the Tamil language was used in public documents on the island of sumatra in the 11th century'; we can safely conclude, however, that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently in Sumatra and that it included artisans who could engrave inscriptions on stones...

The reason why Hultzsch could not make out the full text of the inscription should be attributed to the poor casts he was supplied with. Actually, though the stone is broken into three parts, the inscription is more or less intact and has been quite nicely preserved in the Museum Nasional at Jakarta (Plate 3). In any case this inscription does not seem to have been examined again by any scholar during the last one hundred years. A team of Indo-Japanese scholars was lucky enough to rediscover this inscription in Jakarta museum on 30th December 1993.[3] With the kind permission of the Director of the Museum Nasional, ink copies of this inscription were made for decipherment and study. The following discussion is based on the complete text prepared using the fresh ink copies made on that occasion.

The stone bearing the inscription is hexagonal in shape and may not have formed part of any structure. The inscription is engraved on three adjoining facets and contains 26 lines. The first 19 lines are written in the normal fashion from top to bottom spanning the first two facets but lines 20–26 are written laterally on the third facet. Due to cleavage in the stone, line 18 is almost mutilated except one or two letters in the beginning and a few letters are mutilated in lines 20–23 too. The text and the translation of the text in English are as follows:

Text

1 *svasti śrī cakarai*
2 *āṇḍu āyirattu[p pa]*
3 *ttuc cellāni[ṉ]*
4 *ṟa mācit tiṅgaḷ*

[3] The visit of this team to Indonesia was in connection with an international project on 'Reinterpretation of Relations Between South Asia and Southeast Asia in the Ancient and Medieval Periods'. This project was organized by Professor N. Karashima of the University of Tokyo and sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan. I wish to record my thanks to Prof. Karashima for permitting me to publish this material. I also thank the other team members, especially Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Dr. P. Shanmugam, for their involvement in the preparation of the ink copies and the text.

5 *vārōcāna mātaṅ*
6 *kari vallavat tēci u*
7 *yyak koṇḍa paṭ*
8 *ṭinattu vēḷāpurattu*
9 *kūḍi niranta tē[cit ticai]*
10 *viḷaṅgu ticai āyira*
11 *ttaiññūṟṟuvarō*
12 *m nammakanār nakara sēnāpa*
13 *ti nāṭṭuceṭṭi*
14 *yārkkum patineṇbūmi*
15 *tēci apparkku mā[vē]t*
16 *tukaḷukkum nā vaittuk*
17 *kuṭutta paricāvatu marak[ka]*
18 *la... ... ...*
19 *la marakkala nāyanuṅ kēvi*
20 *kaḷum kastū[ri] vilai mu[tala]kappa[ṭa]*
21 *añcu tuṇ[ṭā]yam poṉṉum ku[ṭu]*
22 *ttup pāvāṭai ēṟakkaṭavatākavum*
23 *ippaṭikku [i]kkal eḻuti nāṭṭi*
24 *k-kuṭuttōm patineṇpūmi tēcit ticai viḷa*
25 *ṅku ticai āyirattainnūṟṟuvarōm a*
26 *ṟamaṟaveṟka aṟamēy tuṇai.*

Translation

1-4. In the Śaka year 1010 current, month Māsi,

5-11. We, the Five Hundred of the thousand directions, known in all countries and directions, having met at Vēḷāpuram in Vārōchu *alias* Mātaṅkari-vallava-tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa-paṭṭinam

12-17. decided to grant as follows to 'our son(s)' Nakara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār, Patineṇ-bhūmi-tēchi-appar and the *māvettus*:

18-22. [Each of] the ship's ..., the ship's Captain and the *kēvis* shall pay the fee *añchu-tuṇṭ-āyam* in gold according to the price of the *kastūri* and [then only] shall step on the cloth-spread.

23-26. Thus we the Five Hundred of the thousand directions known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands got this stone written and planted. Do not forget charity; charity alone is the good companion.

The language of the inscription is Tamil and the script is also Tamil except the use of some Grantha characters in a few Sanskrit words like 'svasti śrī' (line 1), 'sēnāpati' (line 12), 'bhūmi' (line 14), and 'kastūri' (line 20). The orthography of the inscription is almost faultless, except in one word, namely

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'kal' mistakenly written for 'kal' for stone in line 23. The script of this inscription closely resembles that of the 11th-12th century inscriptions of the Chola dynasty and corroborate the date of the inscription, i.e., Śaka 1010 current, month Māsi, which is equivalent to AD 1088 February-March.

On this date the merchant body called 'the Five Hundred of the thousand directions' met in full strength at Vēḷāpuram in Vārōchu *alias* Mātaṅkari-vallava-tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa-paṭṭinam and made a grant to two individuals, namely Nakara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār and Patineṇbhūmi-tēci-appar and the group called *māvettus*. The terms of the grant were that some three categories of people, namely (1) the ship's ... [a word or two are lost], (2) the ship's Captain and (3) the *kēvis* should pay the due called *añchutuṇṭāyam* in gold as per the estimated price of the *kastūri* and then 'step on the cloth-spread'. Finally there is the brief admonition asking to protect the charity.

Though the inscription is brief it has some interesting points. The date in Śaka era is in keeping with the local practice. Unlike in most of the Tamil inscriptions in south India no king is referred to in this for dating purpose. In Sri Lanka also the inscriptions of this merchant guild do not refer to any king, local or foreign.[4] The name of the town, namely Vārōchu *alias* Mātaṅkari-vallava-tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa-paṭṭinam, needs some explanation. Vārōchu is obviously the Tamil rendering of Barus or Baros. It may be interesting to note that Vārōchu also figures in a medieval Tamil Commentary of about the 12th century, which refers to camphor from Vārōchu (*vārōchu chūṭan*) along with camphor from China (*chīṉa-chūṭaṉ*).[5] The second name of Vārōchu is quite long and may be dissected into three meaningful segments: Mātaṅkari-vallava, tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa, and paṭṭinam. Mātaṅkari-vallava means 'one who is loved (*vallava* or *vallabha*) by Mātaṅkari'. Mātaṅkari or Mātaṅgari, according to Monier-Williams' *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, denoted (1) a mythical mother of elephant tribe and (2) a form of Durga. The latter sense may be appropriate in the context as the Ayyāvoḷe guild's usual eulogy refers to the members as the 'sons' of the deity Paramēśvari of Ayyāvoḷe. That is, Mātaṅkari may be considered same as Paramēśvari. Interestingly, the phrase 'mātaṅgari-vallabha' is mentioned in an inscription at Vishakhapatnam[6] on the Andhra coast as the attribute of a leading (Muslim) merchant of Añjuvaṇṇam (another trade guild) patronized by the Ayyāvoḷe-500 guild of that town. Next, 'tēchi' (pronounced as *dēsi*) is a shortened form of Nānādēsi, another name of the Ayyāvoḷe guild and 'tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa' means 'one that

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[4] The importance of this more or less non-committal political attitude of the Ayyāvoḷe trade guild is commented on in N. Karashima, 'Indian Commercial Activities in Ancient and Medieval Southeast Asia'. Plenary Session Paper presented to VIII International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Thanjavur 1995 (in print). See also Chapter 2 in this book.

[5] U.V. Saminathaiyar, (ed.), *Chilappatikaram*. 10th ed., Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1985, p. 375.

[6] *SII*, X, No. 211. Mātaṅgari has doubtfully been read as Māvaṅgari due to some damage in the stone.

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protected the merchant guild'.[7] The whole name therefore may be taken as 'the town (paṭṭinam) which is a favourite of Mātaṅgari and which is a sanctuary of the Dēsi merchants'. Obviously the name owes its origin to the Ayyāvoḷe trade guild.

The reference to Vēḷāpuram, where the meeting of the traders is said to have taken place, is significant. The eulogy of this merchant guild has a conventional reference to 18 *paṭṭinam*, 32 *vēḷapuram*, etc., wherein the guild members are said to have carried on their activities. But so far there is no specific reference to a Vēḷāpuram, though we sometimes come across a synonymous designation Vēḷākula on the Konkan coast of peninsular India.[8] Both Vēḷāpuram and Vēḷākula denoted the harbour proper.[9] The Tamil as well as Kannada form 'vēḷā' is a variant of Sanskrit 'vēlā' meaning sea or specifically seashore.[10] As a Vēḷāpuram or harbour cannot exist without a neighbouring town, it seems to have always been considered as part of that town and, therefore, it does not get a separate name.

Nakara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār is preceded by the qualifying term 'nammakanār' which means 'our son'. If, however, we take the suffix 'ār' in 'makanār' as denoting the plural form instead of considering it as the honorific form, 'nam-makanār' may stand for 'our sons' and may qualify all the following names or at least the first two names. In this context it may be noted that in similar inscriptions elsewhere only the plural form 'nam-makkaḷ' is used[11] to denote all the local agents of the guild. These local agents generally included both the traders of the locality and the armed men serving them. Properly speaking, Nakara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār and Patineṇbhūmi-tēchi-appar are not names, they are just titles. Nakara-sēnāpati Naṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār means 'the Captain of the town, the Merchant of the Locality'. Patineṇbhūmi-tēchi-appar means 'the man of the merchants of the 18 countries'. The identity of the group called *māvettus* is not clear. Similar groups, like *vīrakoḍiyār*, *eṟivīrar*, *munaivīrar*, etc., mentioned in other inscriptions are found to be the guardsmen of the trade guild.[12] *Māvettu* may be one such group.

Among those who were to pay the stipulated contribution of the due *añchutuṇṭāyam*, three categories are mentioned. Only the beginning part of the name of the first category could be recognized as 'marakkala' in lines

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[7] 'Uyyakkoṇṭār' is one of the several titles of the great Chola king Rājarāja I (985-1014) (*SII*, II, Intr.) But it is not certain whether that title has anything to do with the later names of the mercantile towns.

[8] *EI*, XXXI, p. 13-14; XXXII, p. 47.

[9] D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966), q.v.

[10] In Tamil inscriptions the term vēḷāpuram had been mistakenly read as *veḷarpuram* and emended into *vaḷarpuram* to mean 'growing towns'. This was because in Tamil script there is always some confusion between the sign for medial 'a' and that for lingual 'r'. Luckily there is no such ambiguity in Kannada and therefore a comparison with identical contexts in Kannada inscriptions helps in the correct interpretaion of *vēḷāpuram*.

[11] *ARE*, 1964-65, 286. Also *Avanam*, 2 (1992), p. 7; 6 (1996), p. 57.

[12] See Chapter 9.

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17-18 and so this category may be said to have something to do with the *marakkalam* or ship. That could have stood for the shipowner, as the second category, *marakkala-nāyan*, can be taken as the Captain of the ship (*nāyan* is Captain or Headman). The term *marakkala-nāyan* in this record is as yet the earliest occurrence of this term and it is obviously the original form of the terms *maraikkāyan(r)* or *maraikkān(r)* which are found from the early 16th century onwards, in Portuguese and other records, as the names of seafaring Muslim merchants of Tamil Nadu and Kerala Coasts. Whether in the present context also this term denoted Muslim seafarers or otherwise is difficult to decide. It is, however, not improbable that the term already denoted Muslim or Arab seafarers as there were several settlements of Arab traders, with their trade guilds called *añjuvaṇṇam* or *hañjamana*, all along the West and East coasts right from the 9th century onwards[13]. The third category is mentioned as *kēvi*s in plural form. The terms *kēvi* and *kēvu* are in current use in Kerala coast denoting ferrymen or oarsmen[14]. Oarsmen is quite appropriate in the context.

The fee *añchutuṇṭāyam* was to be paid according to the value (*vilai-mutal*) of *kastūri*. Even though there is some damage to the stone in this particular place, the reading of the word *kastūri* is almost certain. *Kastūri* is musk, a well-known aromatic substance. But if musk is the only merchandise involved here it would be rather strange as Barus was famous more for its camphor than anything else. Perhaps we have to take that *kastūri* is used here symbolically to denote aromatic merchandise in general. There is, however, no corroborative evidence for this inference. The fee *añchutuṇṭāyam* is said to be paid in gold. In other inscriptions the term *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi*, denoting a voluntary contribution from the merchants, is used in similar context and it means 'a share from the town'. Actually in some elaborate inscriptions there are given for *paṭṭaṇa-pagudi* rates of payment on each item of the merchandise transacted at the particular town.[15] Lastly, it is said that they may step on (or sit on) *pāvāṭai* or cloth-spread after the payment. To offer a cloth-spread to sit or walk on is a usual practice to honour a guest. However, in this case, the concerned verbal phrase *pāvāṭai ēṟakkaṭavōm* has to be taken in a figurative sense of 'entering' or 'getting admission' into the town. This sense is attested to in a 12th century inscription from Tamil Nadu.[16]

The contents of the inscription definitely support the suggestion of Nilakanta Sastri that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently in Sumatra. In fact it was a colony of merchants and those merchants were so

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[13] Y.Subbarayalu, 'Presidential Address to XXII Annual Conference of Epigraphical Society of India', Mysore, 1996, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, 23 (1997), pp. 1–15.

[14] H.Gundert, *Malayalam and English Dictionary*, q.v.

[15] *ARE*, 1964–65, 286 & 296. *Avanam*, 6 (1995), p. 37f. See also Chapter 10 in this book.

[16] *ARE*, 1940-41, No. 164. In this inscription the phrase '*iḍaṅgai-taḷattile pāvāḍai ēṟinōm*' is used to denote '[we] joined with or entered into the Iḍaṅgai or Left-Hand group'.

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privileged as to give a Tamil designation of their own liking to the old port town of Barus. The location of this Tamil inscription in Sumatra has to be viewed as an extension of the enlarged activities of the Ayyāvoḷe-500 guild within and beyond south India in the 11th century. Even though the guild is known from the 9th century onwards, its activities were not so conspicuously felt until a century and a half later and were mostly confined to Tamil Nadu and southern Karnataka. During the 11th century, especially in the latter half, its itinerant activities spread all over south India, engaging in long-distance trade. By the end of the 11th century the guild, incorporating several ethnic and linguistic groups, is found in several coastal towns, including Visakhapatnam on the northeast coast of Andhra, many of which had come up with the patronage of the Chola dynasty. The enormous expansion of the activities of the guild should be seen as a concomitant development of the large state-systems that emerged during this century, namely the Chalukya state in Karnataka and the Chola state in Tamil Nadu. Another parallel, conducive factor was the growth of temple-centred urbanization.[17]

The inscription may also have some importance in settling the long-standing dispute about the location of Barus. The place is mentioned in T'ang-period Chinese records and later as a place famous for camphor tree. O.W. Wolters after analyzing all the related evidence has suggested that before the eighth century the name Barus stood for a wider area in the northern Sumatra and a port of that name, if any, should have existed on the north-eastern part of the island, somewhere between Atjeh and Diamond Pt. facing Malacca straits.[18] This point of Wolters may have to be reconsidered in view of the *in situ* reference to Barus in the 11th century itself.

[17] For this and other related discussion see R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 BC to AD 1300* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996). Also Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas* (Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980); Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant guilds of South India* (Manohar, Delhi, 1988).

[18] O.W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 179–93. For a different view, see H.B. Sarkar, *Trade and Commercial Activities of Southern India in the Malayo-Indonesian World*, vol. 1 (Firma KLM Private Ltd, Calcutta, 1986), pp. 274–75.

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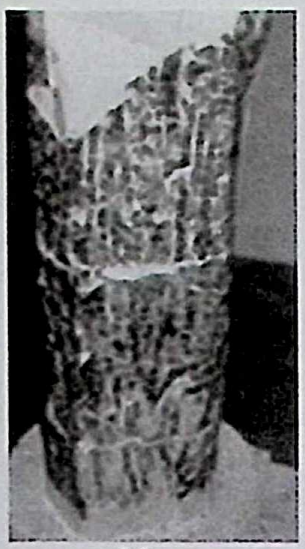
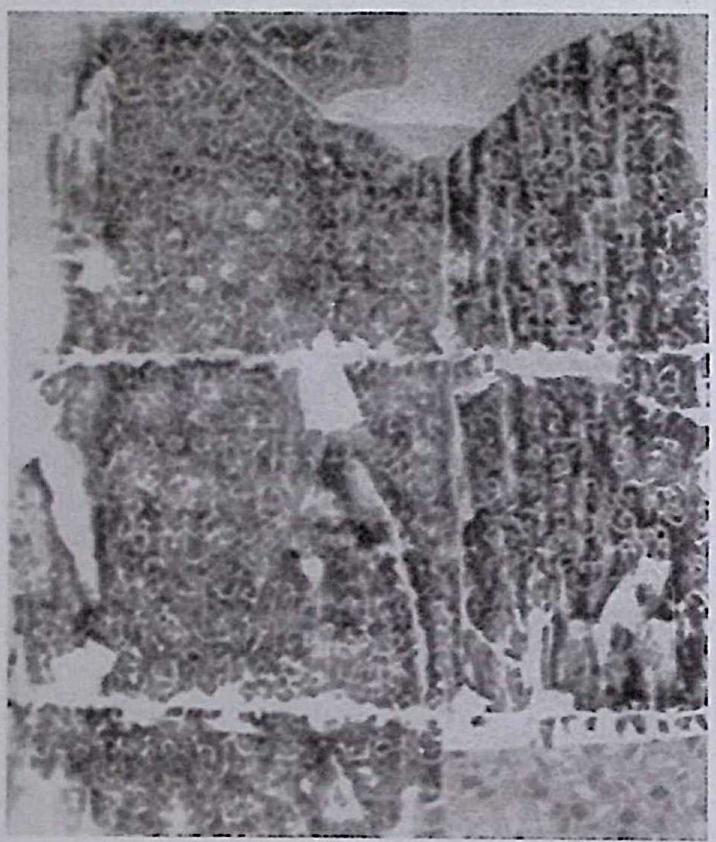
3.1
(Courtesy Mr. T. Omura)



3.2

3.3

Tamil Inscription, Barus, Indonesia



3.4

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4

A Trade Guild Inscription From Viharehinna in Sri Lanka

Y. Subbarayalu and N. Karashima

The impressions of the subjoined inscription (Plate 4) were made at Viharehinna in August 1997 as part of the Taisho University International Joint-Research Project 'Commercial Activities in the Medieval Indian Ocean as Revealed from Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds' organized by N. Karashima.[1] Viharehinna is near Moragolla of Kandapalle Koralle in the Matale North District of Sri Lanka. The inscription is found on one face of a tall, rectangular and well-dressed stone tablet which measured one meter in breadth, three meters in height and twenty centimeters in thickness and which was planted within the ruined Buddhist Vihara complex at the village. As the stone has been exposed to sun and rain for several centuries now, the inscription is worn out in certain patches. Even then a more or less complete text could be made out with a few gaps here and there. This inscription was earlier published along with two others (one from Vahalkada and the other from Padaviya) by A. Veluppillai in 1971 in his book[2] under the caption 'Three Tamil Inscriptions of the "Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions"'. He has made the following comment on the purport of the inscription (p. 52):

> The inscription from Viharehinna is more difficult to make out. Traders who had been to all the eighteen lands were named 'Cātti kulam' and extolled. Some ceṭṭis and their brothers felt that they too should be honoured. They wanted to attain many things in order to make themselves eligible for the honour. Some revenue, assigned to the Vīrapaṭṭaṇam, seem to have been lost. Imprecations had been made to the person who had ceased to pay. One

[1] The present authors are grateful to the Sri Lankan Archaeological Department for its permission and help for their research and this publication. Also thanks are due to Dr. V. Vedachalam and Dr. S. Rajagopal of Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, who helped us in deciphering the inscriptions.

[2] A. Veluppillai, *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, part 1, Peradeniya, 1971, pp. 46–57.

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thousand kāṇams had been provided to the city. As one person was not willing to serve, some alternate arrangement seems to have been made.

The reading of Veluppillai is far from satisfactory and therefore his interpretation based on that reading could only be premature and undependable. None of the three inscriptions he edited including the Viharehinna inscription has a date or reference to any king's reign. Palaeography should be the base for dating them, but Veluppillai has simply stated that they may belong to either twelfth or thirteenth century without any comparison to a dated inscription. K. Indrapala who has studied these inscriptions for their historical interest seems to put them all in the pre-1250 bracket.[3] S.Pathmanathan is more specific and dates the Vahalkada inscription to the early 12th century and the Viharehinna inscription to the late twelfth century by comparing them with the inscriptions of Parākramabāhu I (1153–86) and later.[4] Actually, the characters of both compare well with those of Kulottunga I's inscriptions of the early twelfth century, the best example of which is the Smaller Leiden Plates (*EI*, XXII, pp. 276–77). Further, if we compare them with some inscriptions of Gajabāhu II dated between 1134 and 1154, namely, (a) AD 1134—Kirindagam, Amparai District, *EZ*, Vol. VI, pp. 70–71; (b) AD 1151—Hingragoda, Polonnaruwa District, Ibid.; (c) AD 1154—Mankanai, Trincomalee District, Ibid., p. 10, both the Vahalkada and Viharehinna inscriptions can be put definitely in the first half of the twelfth century. The Padaviya inscription also can be dated to the same period.

The purport of the Viharehinna inscription is to record the giving of the title *eṟivīra-tānam* to a mercantile settlement called Māchēnakāmam or Māsēna-gāmam *alias* Tanmachākara-paṭṭaṇam and the stipulation concerning fee-collection in that settlement by the *padineṇbūmi vīrar*. In the beginning of the inscription (lines 1–16) the eulogy of the merchant guild called the Ainūṟṟuvar (Five Hundred) is given, first in Sanskrit and then in Tamil, referring to (1) their mythical lineage from Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra, (2) their being the 'children' of Paramēśvari of Aiyapoḻil, i.e. Aiyāvoḻe, (3) their residence in 18 *paṭṭiṇam*, 32 *vēḷāpuram* and 64 *kaṭikai-tāvaḷam* (*ghaṭhika-sthāna* in Sanskrit) and (4) their constituent communities (guilds) like Cheṭṭi, Cheṭṭi-puttiran, Kavaṟai, etc. Similar eulogies are met with in several Kannada and Tamil inscriptions[5] starting from the middle of the tenth century with slight variations over time and in different regions. From them some useful information on the composition of the Ainūṟṟuvar is obtainable. The present eulogy enumerates the following communities as the constituent bodies of the Ainūṟṟuvar: 1) Tāvaḷa-cheṭṭi, 2) Cheṭṭi-puttiran, 3) Kavaṟai, 4)

[3] K. Indrapala, 'Some Medieval Merchantile Communities of South India and Sri Lanka.' *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* (ns), 1–2, 1971, pp. 101–13.

[4] S. Pathmanathan, 'The Nagaram of the Nanadesis in Sri Lanka, Circa A.D. 1000–1300', *Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities*, X-1/2, 1984, pp. 122–63.

[5] See Chapter 9.

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Kātripan (betel-leaf merchants), 5) Kāmuṇḍasvāmi, 6) Ōṭṭan (messengers), 7) Uḷpachumpaikkāṟan (merchants with bags), 8) Aṅkakāṟan (soldiers), 9) ...-vīran (soldiers), 10) Pāvāḍai-vīran (soldiers), 11) Those conversant with Sanskrit and Tamil, 12) ...kaḻudai mē...(those who ride on donkeys?). The Samuttirapatti inscription (AD 1050) in Madurai District, which also records the giving of the title *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* or *vīra-taḷam* to a town, has a similar eulogy, but differs from this in providing the names of some different constituent groups after Kāmuṇḍasvāmi.

After this eulogy of the Ainūṟṟuvar, the Padineṇbūmi Vīrar, the party who describe themselves in the first person plural in the inscriptions, narrate the 'honour (*chiṟappu*)' given to them by the *perumakkaḷ* of Māchēnakāmam *alias* Tanmachākara-paṭṭaṇam. According to it, the *perumakkaḷ* got release of a member (brother) of Padineṇbūmi Vīrar by paying the ransom money (*āṭāṅ-kāsu*) to a local authority, who had been put the member into jail, and that they also gave the name *eṟivīra-tānam* to this settlement after the Vīrar. To reciprocate this honour given by the Perumakkaḷ, the Padineṇbūmi Vīrar decided to relinquish their right to collecting of lamp oil and some fees in the town, on condition that they continue to enjoy day-meals and take four kāsu of money for their dress. Together with the Vīrar, the Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭis too are stated to have relinquished their right to collecting the fee in the town. After an imprecation against the people who would violate this stipulation, more than nine names of the Padineṇbūmi Vīrar are enumerated as signatories including a certain Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi.

Vīrar means 'brave men' and Eṟi-vīrar, the form found in some other inscriptions, means 'the brave men who fight or kill', and therefore, both the terms have been interpreted by scholars as 'soldiers.' Vīra-koḍiyār, yet another form meaning 'those of the heroic banner,' is also used synonymously in some inscriptions. Then, what was the relationship between the Ainūṟṟuvar who formed the merchant guild and the Virar who were soldiers? The Samuttirapatti inscription, which enumerates similar groups as those of the Viharehinna inscription for the constituent bodies of the Ainūṟṟuvar, mentions the Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭis, Tichai-cheṭṭis, and Padineṇbūmi Paṇichai-makkaḷ separately from the Ainūṟṟuvar by prefixing the word 'nam-makkaḷ' to them. This Padineṇbūmi Paṇichai-makkaḷ can be easily identified with the Vīrar in the Viharehinna inscription if we compare it with another similar inscription (12/13th century) from Nattam in Madurai District, which classifies the concerned bodies into Ainūṟṟuvar, Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭis, Tanma-cheṭṭis and Vīra-koḍiyār. It is obvious that the Tanma-cheṭṭis of the Nattam inscription correspond to the Tichai-cheṭṭis of the Samuttirapatti inscription and Vīra-koḍiyār to Paṇichai-makkaḷ. As the word *nam-makkaḷ* (our sons) is prefixed, Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi and others can be said in a broader sense to have been included in the Ainūṟṟuvar organisation, but they are mentioned separately and not equated with the Cheṭṭi, Cheṭṭi-puttiran and others who are enumerated earlier. Their position, therefore, seems to have been regarded lower than the formal members of the Ainūṟṟuvar. That

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is indicated also by the words *panichai-makkaḷ* (servants).

From the above it may be safely inferred that Vīrar or Vīra-koḍiyār were the soldiers who protected the merchants. This interpretation is supported by their involvement in some actual fighting. The best example is the Samuttirapatti inscription, which describes a member of the Paṇichai-makkaḷ who rescued the merchants after severe fighting with the enemy. The Vahalkada and Budumuttava inscriptions[6] in Sri Lanka and the Singalantapuram inscription in Tiruchirapalli District also seem to record similar cases. In the case of Viharehinna inscription there is no reference to fighting, but the person (Vīran) who was put into jail must have fought with some enemy for the benefit of the merchants (Ainūṟṟuvar), which must have been the reason for his release by the Perumakkaḷ who represent the Ainūṟṟuvar and also for the giving of the title Eṟivīra-tānam to the town.

The actual identity of the Perumakkaḷ (great men) is not clear, but from the context it may be said that they were the local representatives of the Ainūṟṟuvar. The Budumuttava and Detiyamulla inscriptions (first half of the 12th century) in Sri Lanka also record similar activities performed by the Perumakkaḷ of a town. Though the designation Naṭṭu-cheṭṭi suggests that they were merchants, they were always separate from the Ainūṟṟuvar and rather associated with the Virar, Vīra-koḍiyār or Paṇichai-makkaḷ. Some of the individual names of the Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭis have adjectives which imply braveness or some heroic deed.[7] In those days they also might have behaved like the soldiers protecting merchants.

As stated above, *eṟi-vīra* means the soldiers who fight/kill and therefore *eṟivīra-tānam* means 'the place or town of the soldiers or heroes who fought or killed (enemies)'. In other inscriptions the terms *taḷam* or *paṭṭinam* are used synonymously with *tānam*. Paṭṭinam is the designation usually applied to port towns or important commercial centres in the interior. Scholars differ, however, as to the real connotation of the designation Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam. According to Kenneth R. Hall, itinerant merchants (the Ayyāvoḷe Five Hundred) 'developed special relationships with major hinterland emporia and symbolized this relationship by the application of the distinctive title *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam*.[8] R. Champakalakshmi on the other hand suggests that they were specially protected warehouses which the itinerant merchants formed by converting older towns with royal sanction—or sometimes on their own ...—and defended them

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[6] Though the text of the Budumuttava inscription and also that of the Detiyamulla inscription to be mentioned below have been published, our interpretation in this report is based on our own reading of the impressions we took in 1997. See Chapter 8 also. In the case of the Vahalkada inscription we depended on the photograph in *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, part 1, p. 54 front.

[7] The Vahalkada inscription provides us with an adjective *'veṭṭivāḷiṟakkiṉa'* as a part of a Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi's name.

[8] K.R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 143.

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with their own troops.[9] The contents of the present inscription, however, would suggest that the special designation *eṟivīra-tānam* was given to 'honour' some hero(s) for his (their) brave deed. The soldiers had been a part of the town even before the new title was given to it. As stated earlier, the Samuttirapatti inscription provides us with similar evidence. It may also be noted here that there is no evidence to infer that royal sanction was necessary in the making of Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam.[10]

As to the relinquishment of some privilege in the town by the Vīra-koḍiyār, the Budumuttava inscription also specifies it as the collecting of money and lamp oil [11] in a similar situation. An inscription (11th century) in Kattur in Chengalpattu District reveals that Vīrar sometimes collected tolls (*chārikai*) and money (*paṇam*) by threatening the townspeople with swords. The purpose of this Kattur inscription, which is a bit vague, seems to record the giving to the town the title Vīra-paṭṭinam on condition that the Vīrar should not take what they had been taking. However, the implication of the giving of this new title Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam to a town needs further study. In this relation it is worthy of notice that the Budumuttava inscription records the Perumakkaḷ's giving a new name (Vīra-mākāḷam) to a deity in the town in honour of the Vīra-koḍiyār's brave service. The Detiyamulla inscription in Sri Lanka also seems to record similar contents. In all these inscriptions, therefore, the central issue seems to have been the receiving of 'the honour' (*chiṟappu*) by the Vīrar and that was symbolised by the Perumakkaḷ's gesture of prefixing the title *vīra* to the name of their town or deity.

At the top and bottom of this inscription there are engraved some figures, which deserve notice. The top panel has from left to right the figures of a standing lamp, a wheel or sun above a conch placed on a tripod, the crescent moon above a flywhisk, a tree (?), wheel above a conch on a tripod, and a standing lamp. These figures may be considered as auspicious symbols for the merchant guild. At the bottom there are three figures: a boomerang or curved sword, kettledrum and dagger. Perhaps they represent some of the weapons of the Padineṇbūmi Vīrar. These marks are also seen in some other inscriptions relating to the Ainūṟṟuvar or Vīrar.[12]

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[9] R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 219.

[10] Champakalakshmi's reference to 'royal sanction' might be based on the argument made by Meera Abraham in her book (p. 112) that the presence of the eulogy of the Chola king Rajadhiraja I in the Basinikonda inscription recording the giving of the name Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam to a town implies royal sanction. However, the presence of the king's eulogy does not in itself imply royal sanction.

[11] *nāṅgaḷ uṇṇakkaḍava paṇamum vēṭṭāḍun tiruviḷakkeṇṇayum viṭṭōm.*

[12] See Chapter 11.

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Important Inscriptions on Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam and Vīrakoḍiyār

1. Basinikonda Ins., *ARE*, 1912, 342 (Chittoor Dt., A.D. 1050).
2. Samudirappatti Ins., *Avanam*, 2, pp. 24–26 (Madurai Dt., c. AD 1050)
3. Karshanapalle Ins., *ARE*, 1912, 321 (Chittoor Dt., AD 1054).
4. Kattur Ins., *ARE*, 1912, 256 (Chengalpattu Dt., c. 11th cent.).
5. Mudlukoppalu Ins., *EC*.(ns), V, Kn.116 (Mysore Dt., c. 11th cent.).
6. Kempanapura Ins., *EC*.(ns), IV, Ch.146 (Mysore Dt., c. 11th cent.).
7. Budumuttava Ins., *Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities*, XX-1/2, 1994, p. 29 (Sri Lanka, 12th cent).
8. Detiyamulla Ins., *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, part 2, Peradeniya, 1972, pp. 15–6 (Sri Lanka, 12th cent.).
9. Vahalkada Ins., *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, part 1, pp. 53–54 (Sri Lanka, 12th cent.).
10. Singalantapuram Insc., *ARE*, 1943–44, 237 (Tiruchirappalli Dt., c. 12th cent.).
11. Nattam Ins., *Avanam*, 3, pp. 34–36 (Madurai Dt., c. 12th cent.)

Text of Viharehinna Inscription

1. *svasti śrī samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsana laksh*
2. *milaṅkṛita varaprasāta ... śrīvāsutēva kaṇṭaḷi mūlabhatrōr*
3. *bhava śrī ashṭātaśa paṭṭana dvātriṁśat vēḷāpura ca*
4. *tushashṭi kaṭikaistāna diśayāśraya divyaśāra samaya*
5. *darmma sampūrṇṇa sakalapura nivāsaniyākiya śrī*
6. *aiyapoḷiṟ pura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya veyya cuṭar neṭu*
7. *vēl vīravaḷañceyar patiṉeṭṭu paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷā puramu*
8. *m aṟupattu nāṉku kaṭikaittāvaḷamum tāvaḷattucceṭṭi*
9. *yuñ ceṭṭi puttiraṉuṅ kavaṟaiyuṅ kātripaṉuṅ kāmuṇṭaśvā*
10. *miyum ōṭṭaṉum uḷpacumpaik kāṟaṉum aṅkakāṟaṉu*
11. *m āvaṇakkāṟaṉu... vīraṉum pāvāṭai vīraṉum āriyattō-*
12. *ṭarun tamiḻ valla ca... laṉum paḻutilāt toḻil va-*
13. *lla kaḻutai mēva... vaṉumuḷḷiṭṭu aṟam vaḷarak kali*
14. *meliyap pukaḷ perukat ticaiyaṉaittuñ ceviṭu paṭāmaṟ ceṅkōlē*
15. *muṉṉāka samaya dharmam initu naṭāttukiṉṟa patineṇpūmi nāṉku*
16. *ticai nāṉātēcit ticai viḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaññūṟṟuvar kaṇṭiyamu-*
17. *ttar uḷḷiṭṭa patineṇpūmi (vi) vīrarōm mācēṉakāmamāṉa tanmacākarap paṭṭaṉa-*
18. *ttup perumakkaḷ eṅkaḷai nōkkic ceyta ciṟappāvatu nam uṭappiṟanta*
19. *mu... vaḷaṉ muttanāṉa nāṉātēci yāṇṭāṉai vēṇāṭuṭaiyār piṭittuc ci-*
20. *ṟaiceytu oṉpātukait taḷai yiḻuppiṉa pōtu āṭāṅkācu kuṭuttu vīṭu koṇ*
21. *ṭamaiyālum veḷḷittāli ceyviyttup patineṇpūmi eṟivīran tāṉame-*
22. *ṉṟu nāmañcāttit kulattiṉ pēriṭṭup peruñ ciṟappu ceytamaiyil nāṅ*

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23. *kaḻum namperumakkaḻukkuc ciṟappuc ceyya vēṇṭumeṉṟu ni.laṭṭuki .*
24. *viṭum viḻakkeṉṉaiyum paṇamuṇṇu nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḻum nam uṭap-*
25. *piṟantārum ippaṭṭiṉattil paṇamuṇṇātitākavum vīruñ cīrumāṭṭuttāvum paṟṟai*
26. *kaṭṭi ēṟātitākavum ivarukku pakaṟcōṟu peṟuvatāvum pāvāṭai mēnaṭai*
27. *nālu kācu peṟuvatākavum ippaṭic ceyya vīramuṟaimai aḻiyac ceytā*
28. *l paṇiyum ceṭiyum oṭukki muṭṭum puṟakum aṭikkappeṟuvatākavum ip*
29. *paṭi ceyyumaṭattu uttirattilaḻintu paṭuvānākil avaṉ piṇam nāyeḻavu*
30. *māvatākavum ipparicu camaintu kallum palakaiyum nāṭṭinōm tiraḷaṉ...*
31. *vaṟkālataṟkaṭṭiyuḷḷa nāṭṭucceṭṭiyum tiraḷaṉ kampanāṉa piḷḷaccakalan nāṉātēci iṭṭa*
32. *muṉaivallapa nāṉātēcikkōṉu nātāṉa namvīṭṭu muṟiyāṉum kūttaṉ kālanāṉa*
33. *nūṟāyiran tacamaṭi mummata vāraṇappiḷḷaiyum vīrakaḷ muṟpēr ārayaṉ kūttanāṉa vīrakaḷ*
34. *ainnūṟṟuva maṇṭila ayirashṭāṉamum pirāṉ cāttanāṉa vīrakaḷ cēnāpatiyāṇṭāṉum*
35. *kampaṉ villanāṉa cēnāpati vīrakāḻayum nāṭṭarayaṉ kaṇṇanāṉa aṟuvaṉampala piḷ*
36. *ḷaiyāṇṭāṉum tiruvaraṅkaṉ ēṟanāṉa tēciyāparaṇappiḷḷaiyum u ṭi. tēca pa*
37. *tineṇpūmi vīrarōm aṟamaṟavaṟka.*

Translation

[*ll.* 1–6] Hail! Prosperity! The heroic Vaḷañceyar possessing glittering long spears, who are refuge to all, who possess the 500 *vīra-śāsana*, who are adorned by Lakshmi, who came in the line of Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra, who carry on their *samaya-dharma*, the divine essence, in the 18 *paṭṭana*, the 32 *vēḷāpura* and the 64 *kaṭikai-stāna*, who live in all the *pura*,

[*ll.* 6-16] who are the children of Paramēśvari of Aiyapoḻil—they who belong to the 18 *paṭṭiṉam*, the 32 *vēḷāpuram* and the 64 *kaṭikait-tāvaḷam*, including the *cheṭṭi* of *tāvaḷam*, the *cheṭṭi-puttiraṉ*, the *kavaṟai*, the *kātrivaṉ*, the *kāmuṇḍasvāmi*, the *ōṭṭaṉ*, the *paṇa...*, the *aṅkakāṟaṉ*, the *āvaṇakkāṟaṉ*, ... , the *pāvāṭai-vīraṉ*, those conversant with both Sanskrit and Tamiḻ (languages) and those who ride the faithful donkeys, and who carry on their *samaya-dharma* happily with the righteous sceptre as their guide so that the rightousness shall prosper and the wickedness may disappear, with their fame spreading in all directions—they (comprise) the Five Hundred of the thousand directions of the eighteen lands and four cardinal directions and of several countries.

[*ll.* 16–22] We the *padineṇbūmi-vīrar* including Kaṇḍiyamuttu make the following resolution: Whereas we were honoured greatly by the Great-men (*perumakkaḷ*) of Māsēnagāmam *alias* Tanmasāgara-paṭṭaṇam—That is,

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when our 'brother' Mu...vaḷaṉ Muttan *alias* Nānādēsiyāṇḍāṉ was arrested by Vēṇāḍuḍaiyār and put in chains, he was rescued by them by paying the ransom money (*aṭāṅkāsu*); further they got a silver amulet made and designated (this town) as *erivīran-tāṉam* after our community (*kulam*),

[*ll.* 22–26] we have also decided to honour the Greatmen. We will give up our right to collect lamp oil and we as well as the *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s and all our brethern who have the right to collect money fees in this town shall not collect the fees hereafter and we promise this upon our chivalrous tradition. ... [We] may get one day meal and for dress (*pāvāṭai*) we take 4 *kāsu* as per the existing custom.

[*ll.* 27–30] If anybody behaving unchivalrously obstructs this agreement, his office as well as his document shall be confiscated and he shall be beaten all over his knuckles and back and perchance he dies out of the agony he will be given a dog's burial. Thus having agreed we planted the stone and the wooden plank—we the *padineṇbūmi-vīrar*,

[*ll.* 31–37] namely Tiraḷaṉ... vaṟkālataṟkaṭṭiyuḷḷa nāṭṭuchcheṭṭi, Tiraḷaṉ Kampaṉ *alias* Piḷḷachchakalan, Nāṉātēchi Iṭṭa muṉaivallapa nāṉātēcikkōṉ, Nātāṉa namvīṭṭu muṟiyāṉ, Kūttaṉ Kālan *alias* Nūṟāyiran Tachamaṭi-mummata-vāraṇappiḷḷai, Vīrakaḷ Muṟpēr ārayaṉ Kūttan *alias* Vīrakaḷ Ainnūṟṟuva-maṇṭila-ayirashṭāṉam, Pirāṉ chāttan *alias* Vīrakaḷ Chēnāpatiyāṇṭāṉ, Kampaṉ Villan *alias* Chēnāpati Vīrakāḷay, Nāṭṭarayaṉ Kaṇṇan *alias* Aṟuvaṇampala-piḷḷaiyāṇṭāṉ, Tiruvaraṅkaṉ ēṟan *alias* Tēchiyāparaṇappiḷḷai. Please do not forget the charity.

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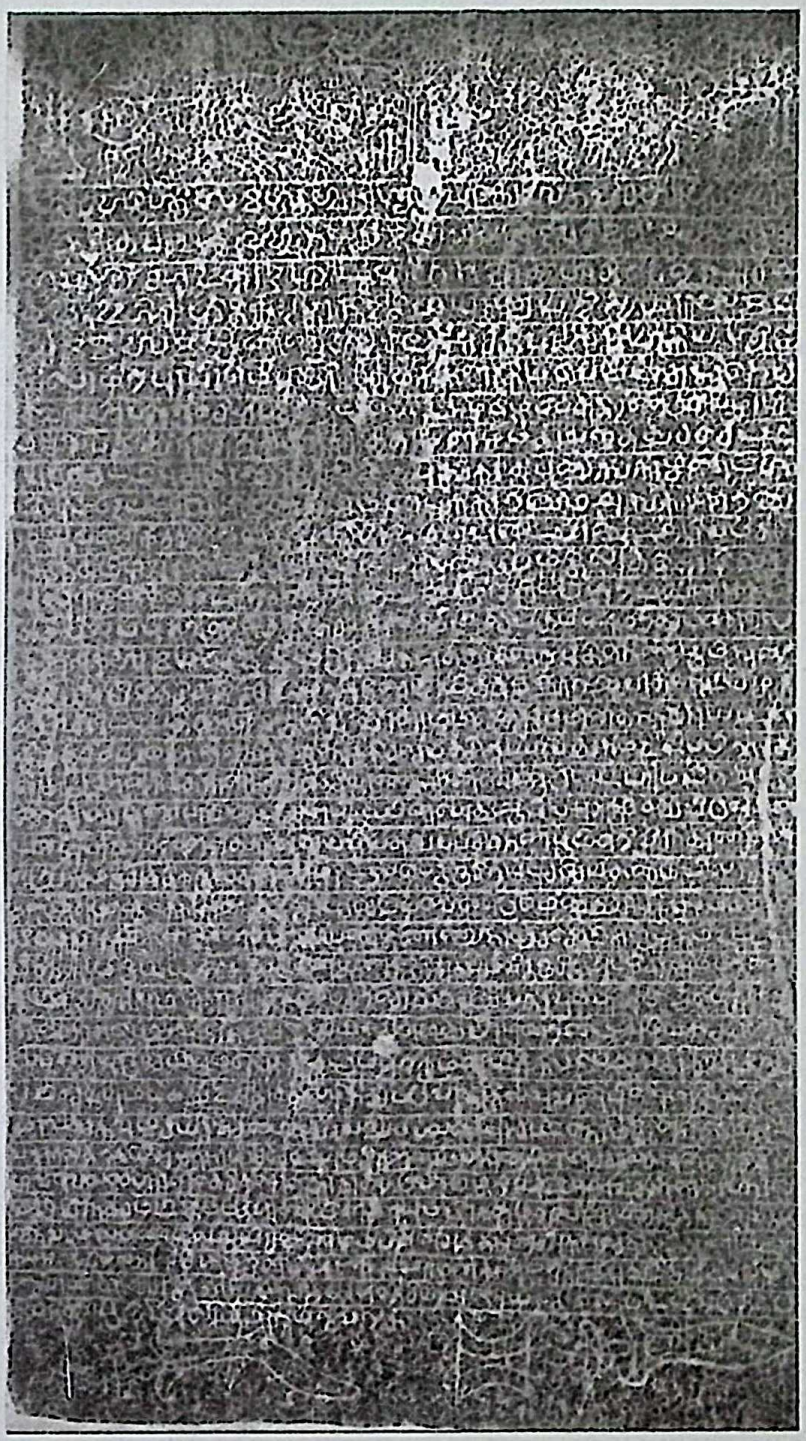
Plate 4



Tamil Inscription from Viharehinna, Sri Lanka

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5

The Laṅkātilaka Temple Inscriptions of a Merchant Community

S. Pathmanathan

The temple of Laṅkātilaka at Rabbegamuva in Udunuvara in the Kandy District of the Central Province was established in 1344 as a state temple on the initiative of two monastic orders, comprising the *bhikkus* residing among the village and the forest-dwelling communities. The principal chiefs in the kingdom and particularly Sēnalaṅkādhikāra, the chief minister, had contributed to the construction of the multi-storied building, which epitomizes the beliefs, practices, ideology, art and architecture of Buddhism in medieval Sri Lanka. As a historical monument it is of a unique character.

There are six inscriptions pertaining to the construction of the temple and the endowments made to it. One of these inscriptions is engraved on copper plates.[1] Endowments in the form of land-grants and other donations were made for its maintenance by the king, chieftains, warriors, and other inhabitants. Three of the five stone inscriptions recording the grants made to the temple are engraved on a part of the rock on which the temple stands. Two of these inscriptions are dated in the third year (AD 1344) of Bhuvanēkabāhu IV. They are in two languages, Sinhalese and Tamil (Plate 5). The Sinhalese inscription is longer on account of the fact that it contains a preamble recording information relating to the construction of the temple. But the details pertaining to the endowments are almost the same.

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[1] There are four copper plates, each measuring 1 ft. 3.5 in., of which the first three are inscribed on both sides and the fourth is inscribed on one side only. The fourth plate bears grants of lands made to the shrine in the reigns of Rājādhi Rājasinha of Kandy and his predecessor, Kīrti Śri Rājasinha. The texts of these eighteenth century documents are preceded by those of the inscriptions of Bhuvanēkabāhu IV and Vikramabāhu III. S. Paranavitana, 'Laṅkātilaka Inscriptions', *University of Ceylon Review*, XVIII, nos. 1 & 2, p. 2.

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The Endowment as Recorded in the Tamil Inscription

The Tamil inscription at Laṅkātilaka was first deciphered, translated and published by S. Paranavitana almost forty-two years ago.[2] Recently, while examining the text of the inscription, the present author realized that one of the sentences included in the text records an endowment made by a merchant community to the Laṅkātilaka temple. The relevant portion of the text as deciphered by Paranavitana runs[3]:

> *puṟa maṭikaiyālum uḷmaṭikaiyālum onpatu tuṟaiyālum patineṭṭu tēchattil niṉṟum vanta vāṇiyaṅkaḷālum koṇṭu vanta palamaṇṭala charakkukku nūṟṟukkuk kāl kuṭukkum paṭi matineṇ vishaiyamākak kūṭi vaittuk kuṭuttu chempilum kallilum eḻutik kuṭuttārkaḷ*

His translation of this passage reads. 'we also, having assembled and fixed as a matter concerning the computation of dues that, from the outer customs-house and from the inner customs-house, there shall be levied a quarter per cent of the value of the merchandise from various countries brought by merchants coming though the nine seaports from the eighteen countries, and having caused (this decision) to be engraved on copper, granted (such dues to the shrine)'.[4]

So, according to Paranavitana the portion of the text under consideration records transactions made by the king and chiefs (*mutalikaḷ*): they assembled together, made the decision that a quarter per cent of the value of merchandise brought by merchants from various quarters should be levied, and to that effect issued an inscription engraved on copper plate. Paranvitana's translation is wrong and misleading, and as will be seen later, it is based on a misunderstanding of the text. The expressions 'We also, having assembled and fixed as a matter concerning the computation of dues' as found in his translation presuppose that the grant of incomes from merchandise was made by the king at an assembly of chiefs (*mutalikaḷ*). Such an idea is alien to the text. In the text the endowment is said to have been made by a third party as evident from the expressions *[p]atineṇ vishaiyamākak kūṭi vaittuk kuṭuttu chempilum kallilum eḻutik kuṭuttārkaḷ*, which translate: 'They assembled as the *patineṇvishaiyam* and made a decision to make an endowment, and to that effect issued inscriptions engraved on stone and copper plate'. The expression *kuṭuttārkaḷ*, 'they gave' or 'they had given', as found at the end of this particular sentence clearly suggests that the king, who issued the royal order, is referring to a transaction made by others. Those who had made the endowment are also said to have issued copies of the text recording their decisions pertaining to the endowment engraved on stone and copper plate. Thus, the Laṅkātilaka inscription refers to another set of inscriptions, which are otherwise unknown.

Paranavitana could not understand properly the ideas conveyed in the relevant part of the inscription as the key expression in the text was beyond

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[2] *University of Ceylon Review*, XVIII, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 16–26.

[3] Ibid., p. 18, lines 21–23

[4] Ibid., p. 21

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his comprehension. The inscription clearly states that a group of people had met together, made a decision about the levies to be collected for the temple from merchandise brought from several directions, and to that effect issued inscriptions. He has identified the particular expression, which is applied to describe the people concerned, as *matineṇvishaiyam*. Commenting on this expression Pranavitana says:

> 'This too, an expression which, to my knowledge, has not been found elsewhere, is a word of Tamil origin, still in use in colloquial Sinhalese, indicates that there was a dialectical Tamil word *matineṇ* known to the Sinhalese in the past. An indoor game prevalent among the Sinhalese villagers is called *matinen* or *madineñchi*...'[5]

Even if it is assumed hypothetically that the first letter in the expression is 'ma' it is impossible to establish a connection between *matineṇ* and *matiñchi* or *matineñchi*. It may be emphasized here that *matineṇ* is not a lexical item in Tamil and so is the case with the expression *matineṇvishaiyam*.

Any word or expression identified in a text should be a lexical item, which could be etymologically and idiomatically explained on the basis of usages, textual or colloquial. As such an explanation is not possible in respect of 'matinenvisaiyam', the present author, recently began to entertain doubts about the validity of its decipherment. These doubts were confirmed by an imaginative reading of the relevant portion of the text.

I realized that this matter could, perhaps, be cleared by a personal inspection of the inscribed rock. On a recent visit the stone was thoroughly cleaned and examined and the effort was found to be a rewarding experience.[6] It was found that the spot on which the first letter was engraved is damaged and a major part of the letter has been lost. Only a vertical stroke on the left hand side remains intact. A small portion of a horizontal line, which is joined to the bottom of the vertical stroke on the right hand side, is visible. On the basis of what remains on the stone one could postulate three possibilities. The letter could have been 'pa', or 'ṭa' or 'ma'. In Tamil there is no word that has 'ṭa' as its fist letter. It is also improbable that the letter was 'ma' on account of the consideration that *matineṇvishaiyam* is not a lexical item as mentioned earlier. So, the only possibility is that the damaged letter was 'pa' and, on the basis of this assumption, the expression concerned could be identified as *patineṇvishaiyam*.[7] Notices in medieval south Indian inscriptions

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[5] Ibid, p. 21, fn. 55

[6] Reverend H. Dheerananda, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Peradeniya, took the present author to the Laṅkātilaka temple on 8th October, 2001 and made the necessary arrangements for an examination of the inscription on the rock. S. Pathiraja, an Assistant Lecturer in History at the same University, accompanied us. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to both of them.

[7] It is a compound of two words, patinen meaning, 'eighteen', and 'vishaiyam', which has the connotation 'county' or 'region'. It is synonymous with the expression *patineṇpūmi*,

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confirm the validity of such an impression. *Patineṇvishaiyam* was the designation of a leading itinerant merchant community in medieval south India. It became prominent particularly in the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu countries during the 12th and 13th centuries. In recent years many inscriptions recording their benefactions to religious institutions have been identified, deciphered and published. It is significant that in some instances the merchant community called *patineṇvishaiyam* was engaged in extending support to Buddhist institutions. At the premises of the Chūlamaṇivarma-vihāram at Nāgapaṭṭinam there was a shrine called Akkachālaip-perumpaḷḷi, which was named after a community of artisans affiliated to the *patineṇvishaiyam*.[8]

On the basis of our re-examination of the Tamil Inscription from Laṅkātilaka the relevant portion, which was quoted here earlier, may be translated in the following manner:

> Having assembled together, the *patineṇvishaiyam* made the resolution that a quarter per cent of the value should be levied on all merchandise from diverse regions, obtained from the trade among 'the eighteen countries', and brought through the nine ports, while they are loaded on caravans (moving out) and unloaded from caravans (coming in). They resolved that the amounts (thus collected) should be granted to the temple and to that effect issued inscriptions in stone and copper plate

It is thus clear that the Tamil inscription engraved on the rock at Laṅkātilaka, which records a royal order pertaining to the endowments made to the temple, refers to a grant made by the community of merchants called *patineṇvishaiyam*. The inscription provides an indication of the close interaction which the merchant community had with the newly established state temple and the role played by the *patineṇvishaiyam* in the internal and maritime trade of the Gampola kingdom.

The merchant community, the *patineṇvishaiyam*, which made an endowment to the temple seemed to have functioned on a corporate basis. The decision to make levies on merchandise and grant the accumulated amounts to the temple was made collectively at an assembly of the group as evident from the expressions *patineṇvishaiyamāka kūṭi vaittukkuṭuttārkaḷ* found in the text of the inscription. In a lower South Asian context there have been many instances of similar group activities on the part of merchant communities as will be seen subsequently.

A major consideration that arises from our scrutiny of the inscription pertains to the dominant position they held among trading operations at several

'eighteen lands or countries', which is often found in the inscriptions recording the activities of the Nānādēsis and their associates.

[8] Noboru Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu, 'An Inscription on the Pedestal of the Bronze Buddha Image of Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller 3rd collection-International Character of Nagapattinam Merchants during the Chola Period', *Journal of the East-West Maritime Relations*, Vol. 3 (1994), pp. 13–18, reprinted in this book as Chapter 7.

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localities in the kingdom of Gampola, which comprised the principalities and territorial divisions in the central highlands and the south western lowlands, in the form of a loose union, under a feeble monarchy. The arrangement made to the effect that levies on merchandise shall be made on units called *maṭikai* and at the nine ports suggests that the *patineṇvishaiyam* had close connections with trading communities established at many localities in the interior and coastal parts of the kingdom. Such a situation presupposes that they were an itinerant merchant community. The reference to *palamaṇṭalach-charakku*, 'the commodities from diverse regions', and *patineṭṭu tēchattil niṉṟum vanta vāṇiyaṅkaḷ*, 'the trade flowing from the eighteen countries', provide clear indication that the itinerant merchant community were among the principal agents who linked the internal and external trade of Sri Lanka with international sea borne trade during the mid-fourteenth century. Such a situation is reminiscent of the role of the Nānādēsis during the 11th and 12th centuries.

The endowment as recorded in the Sinhalese inscription

The endowment made by a group of merchants to the Laṅkātilaka temple is recorded also in the Sinhalese inscription of the 3rd year Bhuvanēkabāhu. The relevant passage runs:

> *atuḷu maḍighayen piṭa maḍighayen nava toṭin aṭaḷos-desayen ā vapārayangen ganna dena yambaḍuyekin siyayaṭa kālak niyāyayen tamba-pata liyā dun samaya śriyen*[9]

The foregoing passage is basically similar to the corresponding passage in the Tamil inscription, in respect of its contents, although it is comparatively more brief. There is no corresponding expression here for *palamaṇṭala-charakku*. The *patineṇvishayam* is not mentioned in the Sinhalese inscription wherein the corresponding form is *samaya śri*. Besides, the Sinhalese inscription states that the text relating to the levy on merchandise was engraved on copper plate while the Tamil inscription states that inscriptions were engraved on stone and copper plate. Although there is a variation in respect of these items in the two inscriptions there is no contradiction. In all other important respects the information found in the two versions are identical. It is necessary to consider here Paranavitana's translation and explanation of the passage under consideration. His translation runs:

> A levy of a quarter per cent, at the inner-customs house and the outer-customs house, of the value of whatever merchandise purchased or sold by merchants coming from the nine seaports or the eighteen countries in accordance with the agreement engraved on copper and granted...[10]

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[9] S. Paranavitana ,'Laṅkātilaka Inscriptions', *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 8–9, lines 21–22.

[10] Ibid., pp. 12–13.

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There are some basic inconsistencies in Paranavitana's translation and interpretation of the passages in the two inscriptions pertaining to the levies on merchandise. In translating the Tamil passage he takes up the position that the king and the *mutalis* met together and made a decision to levy a quarter per cent of the value on all merchandise, for supplementing the incomes of the temple and to that effect issued inscriptions. As noted earlier he had arrived at such a conclusion on account of a serious misunderstanding of the relevant portion of the text. In his translation of the relevant passage in the Sinhalese inscription Paranavitana introduces the notion of an agreement. In fact, 'in accordance with the agreement engraved on copper and granted' are expressions which occur in his translation. There is an inherent contradiction here. If the king and his chieftains had assembled and made certain decisions as claimed by Paranavitana in his translation of the Tamil inscription one cannot postulate the possibility of an agreement about which he speaks in his translation of the Sinhalese inscription. The contradiction is further highlighted by the fact that both inscriptions are recording tersely the same event or arrangement.

If there had been an agreement as claimed by Paranavitana there must have been parties to the agreement. The idea of an agreement naturally leads us to the formulation of the following questions: (1) Who were the parties to the agreement?; (2) Who was responsible for engraving the text of the agreement on copper plate?; (3) To whom was the copper plate given? Certainly we cannot find answers to them from Paranavitana. So, a fresh examination of the inscriptions becomes a prerequisite for any clear understanding of the passages in question. Indeed a fresh edition of the inscriptions is called for. Furthermore, commenting on the expression *samaya śri* Paranavitana says:

> The word *samaya śri* does not occur in any other document. *Samaya* means agreement or an arrangement, and perhaps we have to read *samayāśrayen* in place of *samayaśriyen*. If the syllable *śri* was the royal sign manual in the Gampaḷa period, as it was during the Kōṭṭe and Kandyan times, the compound *samaya-śri* would have meant an agreement on which the royal sign-manual had been affixed.[11]

Thus, according to Paranavitana the expression *samaya śriyen* signifies an agreement on which the royal sign manual *śri* has been affixed. This explanation is unconvincing, although it is an ingenious and scholastic one. Parnavitana has correctly discerned that the corresponding form in the Tamil inscription is *[pa]tinenvishayam* but he could not pursue the investigation to its logical conclusion as he had no idea about the connotations of that archaic Tamil expression. The connotation of *samaya śri* could be understood if *samayam* could be equated with *patineṇvishaiyam*. In fact they had the

[11] Ibid., p. 13, fn. 34

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same connotation. *Samaya śri* as an expression is a compound of two words *samaya* and *śri*. *Samaya* may be considered as the Sinhalese form of the Tamil word *chamayam* and *śri* could be considered as an honorific. Such an explanation would suggest that the expression *samaya śri* is applied in the text of the inscription to the decision of a group of merchants pertaining to the levies on merchandise, which were to be granted to the temple of Laṅkātilaka as their own specific contribution. Such an impression is confirmed by the findings of Kenneth Hall regarding the term *samayam*:

> Just as local commerce had become structured in Chōḷa times, so too had itinerant trade. While *nāḍu* trade was institutionalized under the *nagaram*'s jurisdiction, itinerant trade was increasingly governed by formal itinerant merchant fraternities which boasted of truly international membership...Contemporary inscriptions identify such groups as *samayam*, associations of long distance traders who established permanent exchange relationships with the local marketing networks within the larger systems of Asian trade.[12]

Epigraphic notices suggest that the *patineṇvishaiyam* had attained a position of pre-eminence among the itinerant merchant communities conducting trading operations in south India and Sri Lanka during the 13th and early 14th centuries. They are often referred to in association with other merchant groups in inscriptions recording grants made to temples and other public institutions. In such instances a position of pre-eminence is accorded to them as in an inscription from Piranmalai, Ramnad Dt. in south India. They are also sometimes referred to in association with the *nāṭṭār*, 'the members of governing bodies called *nāṭu*', and the authorities of *brahmadēyas*.[13] In other instances they are referred to alone as being the donors of grants to temples. It is necessary to consider here the details recorded in the Piranmalai inscription, which is one of the major inscriptions recording the activities of the *patineṇvishaiyam*. Significantly, the introductory portion of this inscription is an elaborate version of the preamble usually found in the texts of records describing the activities of the Ainūṟṟuvar and their associates.

The Piranmalai inscription, which could be assigned to the 13th century, records a resolution adopted at an assembly of merchants representing more than twenty-five *nakarams* distributed over the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu countries. The decision was related to the renovation and maintenance of the Śaiva temple in Piranmalai. The venue of the meeting was a hall (*tirukkāvaṇam*) of the temple, which is said to have been under the protective custody (*rakshai*) of the *patineṇvishaiyam*.[14] The decision they had made and the matters pertaining to it are referred to as a *chamaiyakāriyam*, 'transactions of the *chamaiyam* or merchant communities'. It may be recalled here

[12] Kenneth Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980,p.141.

[13] See Chapter 9.

[14] *SII*, VIII, 442, p. 232.

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that the Sinhalese inscription at Laṅkātilaka records the expression *samaya śriyen* in connection with a resolution pertaining to an endowment made by merchant communities to the Laṅkātilaka temple.

The *chamaiyakāriyam* of the *patineṇvishaiyam* at Piranmalai and the grant made by the *patineṇvishaiyam* to the Laṅkātilaka temple were also of a similar kind. The proceedings at an assembly of the *patineṇvishaiyam* had culminated in the *chamaiyakāriyam* described in the Piranmalai inscription. Similarly, the endowment made to the temple of Laṅkātilaka was made in pursuance of a decision made at a meeting of the *patineṇvishaiyam*. Moreover, the decisions made at Piranmalai and at Laṅkātilaka were binding on all merchant communities that came under the influence of the *patineṇvishaiyam* in the two respective countries, India and Sri Lanka. In respect of the Piranmalai epigraph the entire text of the inscription describing the proceedings has been preserved, retrieved and deciphered. But, in the case of Sri Lankan one the details relating to the endowment made to the temple of Laṅkātilaka by the *patineṇvishaiyam* have been lost. Our information about them is derived from brief references to them in two inscriptions recording a royal proclamation. In such a situation, an imaginative understanding in the Laṅkātilaka inscriptions are facilitated by the information found in the Piranamalai inscription.

The endowment made by the *patineṇvishaiyam* at Piranmalai and Laṅkātilaka were of a similar kind. It was in the form of monetary levies on commodities of exchange and the levy had to be confined exclusively to merchants established at market towns and other localities, the representatives of which were parties to the decision concerning the levies. The decision regarding the levies to be collected in this manner are referred to as *chamaiyà-piṭipāṭu*. The *chamaiyapiṭipāṭu*, the details of which are described in the Piranamalai inscription, was a matter confined exclusively to merchant communities. This levy was referred to as *paṭṭaṇappakuti* (or *paṭṭaṇappagudi* in several inscriptions.[15] The king or his officials had no role in the arrangements. The decision regarding the levy was made at a general assembly of merchants and representatives of the members of several *nakarams*, and it was to be collected with the consent of the parties involved, at specified rates on commodities which were identified. Besides, it may be assumed on the basis of the tone and contents of the inscription that the levy was to be collected in the *nakarams* or market towns whose representatives had participated in the proceedings of the assembly and supported the decision regarding the levies. It is significant that the temple concerned was in the custody of the *patineṇvishaiyam*. An examination of the Piranmalai inscription suggests that the *patineṇvishaiyam* had occupied a position of leadership among merchant communities over whom it had exercised considerable influence.

The commodities of exchange listed in the Piranmalai inscription are of several categories. They include local products, imported items, essential com-

[15] See Chapter 10.

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modities and luxury articles. The list includes salt, paddy, rice, green-gram, tuvarai dhal, *avarai*, castor-seeds, gingelly, onions, pepper, saffron, dry-ginger, mustard, cumin seeds, areca nuts, honey, wax, cotton cloth, silks, sandal-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, oil of camphor, rose water, iron, goats, cows and horses. These commodities were both of local and foreign origin and they must have been distributed in the *nakaram* towns by itinerant merchants or their agents who were engaged in the collection and distribution of imports and exports. The expression *palamaṇṭala-charakku* could be applied to the range of commodities listed in the Piranmalai inscription.[16] There are some other inscriptions similar to the Piranmalai one in their purport. For instance, an arrangement of a similar kind is described in another elaborate inscription from Sarkar Periyapalaiyam, Erode District of Tamil Nadu.[17]

The portion of the Tamil inscription from Laṅkātilaka, which records information about the Patineṇvishaiyam, presupposes that an arrangement similar to those referred to in the inscriptions from Piranmalai and Sarkar Periyapalaiyam was made in respect of the Laṅkātilaka temple, although under different circumstances. In the instances described in the Indian inscriptions the temples to which they had made endowments were Śaiva temples which were under their protective custody. The Laṅkātilaka was deemed as a temple for 'all the inhabitants of Lanka' and the Patineṇvishaiyam, in its capacity as a major itinerant merchant fraternity operating in a part of the island, had extended support to a Buddhist temple in the same manner as some merchant communities had supported Buddhist and Jaina institutions in south India during the corresponding period. It would appear that the Patineṇvishaiyam had a decisive influence over the merchants transacting business at the localities called *maṭikai* and the seaports and such a situation presupposes that the itinerant merchant community was closely interacting with them.

Maṭikai and Its Connotations

As noted above, the expressions *uḷ-maṭikai* and *puṟa-maṭikai* occurring in the Tamil inscription from Laṅkātilaka have been translated as 'inner customs house' and 'outer customs house' by S. Paranavitana. *Ātulumaḍiga* and *pitamaḍiga* are the respective corresponding forms found in the Sinhalese inscription. There is considerable doubt about Paranavitana's explanation of these terms as there is no clarity in lexicography about these items. In the *Śrīsumaṅgala sabdakōsaya*, *maḍiga* is defined as a place where taxes are collected on *tāvaḷam*.[18] But the Sinhalese-English Dictionary defines the word as having the connotation 'royal carriage department'.[19] Thus, the definitions

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[16] See Chapter 10.

[17] *Ananam*, 6 (1995), pp. 36–40.

[18] Valivitiye Sorata, ed., *Srisumangala sabdakosaya*, Maradana Printers, Colombo, 1956, p. 687.

[19] Rev. Charles, *A Sinhalese-English Dictionary*, The Baptist Missionary Society, Colombo, 1924, p. 471.

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of the word as given in the two compilations are divergent. In this respect, there is no unanimity even among historians. Amaradasa Liyanagamage contradicts S. Paranavitana when he observes: 'The epigraph stated that the *maḍige* (transport) dues were granted to certain Brahmanas.'[20] S. Paranavitana and A. Liyanagamage are reflecting the viewpoints of the two works on lexicography cited here earlier.

On account of the inconsistency in lexicography an examination of the origin of the word *maḍiga* and the semantic changes it had gone through have to be examined as clarity in respect of its meaning is essential for a proper understanding of the texts in which it occurs. The earliest Sinhalese text in which the word *maḍiga* occurs is an inscription of Queen Līlāvati.[21] The fact that it occurs in connection with the Nānādēsis may be conceded to be of some significance. The earliest Tamil inscription in Sri Lanka, which records the term *maṭikai* is the inscription of the Vīrakkoṭi from Vahalkada. It records some information about the resurrection of a *vīrapaṭṭinam* of the Nānādēsis. The inscription from Vahalkada is considerably earlier than the inscription of the reign of Līlāvati as it could be assigned to the early 12th century on the basis of its contents. A functionary called Maṭikai-āṇṭān is referred to in that inscription.[22] The word does not occur in any document of Sri Lanka which could be assigned to any date before the 12th century. It may therefore be justifiably assumed that *maḍiga/maṭikai* was introduced into the languages spoken in the island after the penetration of the Nānādēsis into Sri Lanka in the 11th century. The word *maṭikai* is not listed as a lexical item in most of the modern Tamil dictionaries. Therefore the precise connotations of *maṭikai* in medieval times could be ascertained only by a careful consideration of epigraphic notices on it. In some inscriptions the word *maṭikai* is applied as the designation of localities with which itinerant merchants had close associations. For instance, a Thanjavur inscription of 1014 refers to a merchant (*viyāpāri*) living in the *maṭikai* of the suburban part of Tañchāvūr (*tañchāvūr puṟampaṭi maṭikai irukkum viyāpāri*).[23] Another inscription of AD 1284 at Mannargudi, Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu mentions a quarter called Buvanēkavīraṉ-maṭikai.[24] This was part of the place called Chārikaikkōṭṭai, which was a big warehouse for pepper and arecanut and where the merchants of *patineṇvishayam* met and decided to make voluntary contribution on their merchandise for a temple charity.[25]

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[20] A. Liyanagamage, 'Keralas In Medieval Sri Lankan History: A study of Two Contrasting Roles,' *Reflections on A Heritage: Historical Scholarship on Premodern Sri Lanka*, part I, ed. R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, S. Pathmanathan, and M. Rohanadheera, Central Cultural Fund, Ministry of Cultural and Religions Affairs, Colombo, 2000, p. 294.

[21] D.M. de Z. Wickramasinghe, 'The slab Inscription marked D/8 of Queen Līlāvati, *EZ*, I, pp. 177–182.

[22] A. Velupillai, ed., *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, Peradeniya, 1971, pp. 56–57.

[23] *SII*, II, 89

[24] *SII*, VI, 47

[25] Ibid., VI, 40, 41

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The points that emerge from the examintion of the epigraphic notices on the *maṭikai* may briefly be formulated here. The *maṭikai* is usually mentioned in connection with itinerant merchant communities: Nānādēsis, Ainnūṟṟuvar and the Patineṇvishaiyam. It was a locality occupied by merchants conducting transactions in commodity exchanges. The *maṭikai* was periodically visited by caravans of itinerant merchants. Like the *nakaram*, the *maṭikai* had arrangements for the administration of its affairs. It is on the basis of these considerations that the implications of the notices on the *maṭikai/maḍiga* as found in Sri Lankan inscriptions could be understood with some measure of precision and clarity. Moreover, there has to be some flexibility as the connotations of the word could vary as a result of semantic changes. Yet, the idea of caravans of itinerant merchants is central to the basic conception and once this is realized the divergent views of lexicographers also could be harmonized.

Paranavitana's rendering of *uḷ maṭikai* (*atuḷu maḍigha*) and *puṟa maṭikai* (*piṭa maḍigha*) represents a deviation from the viewpoint of lexicographers. His explanation presupposes the existence of two separate institutions for the collection of tolls at one and the same locality. There is no empirical evidence of any such phenomenon in the medieval kingdoms. Therefore, it would appear that the notion that the *maṭikai* has the connotation 'customs house' cannot be sustained.

In conclusion, the points that emerge from our examination of the Tamil inscription from Laṅkātilaka edited by S. Paranvitana may be briefly formulated here. This inscription which records a royal order pertaining to the endowments made by many individuals and groups of people to the newly established temple of Laṅkātilaka refers to inscriptions (in stone and copper plate) issued by a community of merchants. The text of the inscriptions contained the details of an endowment in the form of a monetary contribution to be accumulated through levies on the wholesale trade of merchandise of local and foreign origin. The decision regarding the endowment was made at an assembly of merchants of market towns in the interior and coastal parts of the kingdom, on the initiative of the leaders of a leading community of itinerant merchants.

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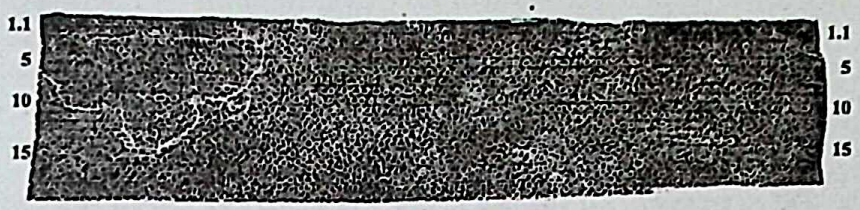
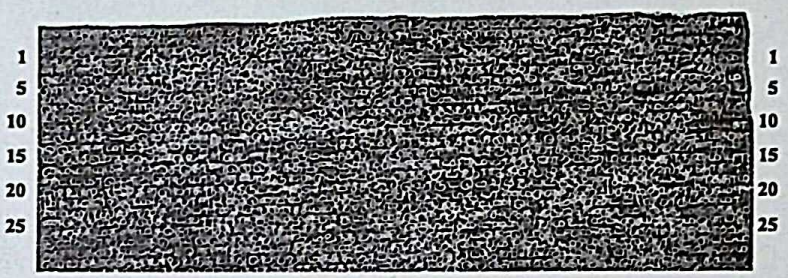


5.1. Sinhalese Inscription from Lankatilaka Temple



5.2. Tamil Inscription from Lankatilaka Temple

5.3. Lankatilaka Temple, Rabbegamuva, Sri Lanka.

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6

The Nānādēsis in Anurādhapura: A Unique Bronze Image of Vīrabhadra

S. Pathmanathan

The city of Anurādhapura

The presence of the Nānādēsis at Anurādhapura during the 12th and the early 13th centuries corresponding to a major part of the Polonnaruwa period of Sri Lankan history, is attested to by archaeological evidence. The Anurādhapura Slab Inscription of Queen Līlāvati(1197–1212), one of the consorts of Parākramabāhu I, is of the utmost importance as it records information about some of their activities and provides some indication of the character of their settlement in that historic city.[1]

Anurādhapura, which had existed as the premier city in the country for a period of over one thousand two-hundred years, had a multifaceted character. It was the centre of dynastic and military power. The principal residence of the ruler and his retinue were located in that city. It had developed as a sacred city with the oldest, largest and most venerated Buddhist monasteries, temples and shrines in the island concentrated within its limits. It was the principal centre of constructional activities described in the Pali chronicles. The archaeological remains of ancient buildings found scattered over a large portion of Anurādhapura are predominantly Buddhist in character and on account of that consideration it is sometimes described as a monastic city.

The co-existence of dynastic and monastic establishments inevitably led to the development of centres of commodity exchanges and markets in the city. The monarchs of Anurādhapura had a remarkable degree of interest in promoting trade, which was a major source of revenue for the royal court. Besides, the kings maintained close links with itinerant traders through whom they sold items such as ivory, pearls, gems and other commodities of great value

[1] D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, 'The slab Inscription marked D/8 of Queen Līlāvati', *EZ*, I, 1928, pp. 177–182.

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and which were taken to different parts of the world. The city was also a major centre for the distribution of curios and luxury items of distant origin. Various objects required for rituals in temples had to be obtained through itinerant traders of diverse origins. The itinerant merchant communities of south Indian extraction were prominent among them. The Indo-Lankan trade through the Palk Strait was largely in their hands. It is also significant that since the eighth century they were participants in the sea-borne trade between the countries of Southeast Asia and lower South Asia. The camphor, sandalwood and aloeswood required for rituals conducted in temples in India and Sri Lanka were obtained chiefly from the countries of Southeast Asia. Chinese silk, porcelain and other products were also brought from that direction.

A community of Tamil merchants probably occupied the area covered by the 'Tamil Ruins' in the northern sector of Anurādhapura during the late Anurādhapura period. The architectural remains of a number of small Śaiva temples of brick construction have been identified during the course of archaeological explorations conducted almost a hundred years ago. The texts of two Tamil inscriptions inscribed on a slab found among these remains is of considerable significance as they provide some indication of the activities of Tamil merchants and the character of their settlement in the locality.[2] They are dated respectively in the 6th and 7th years of a ruler called Chaṅkapōtivarman. They record donations made by traders called *cheṭṭi* for burning perpetual lamps, presumably at a shrine. The money granted on each occasion amounted to thirty gold coins (*īḻakkāchu*). The amounts were deposited with an institution called *kumārakaṇam*, the members of which jointly undertook the responsibility of administering the endowment. The donor of the first grant had the name Chēkkiḻān Cheṭṭi Chaṅkan, while the donor mentioned in the other epigraph is Chēkkiḻān Chennai. Indrapala was of the view that the *kumārakaṇam* referred to in these inscriptions was the committee appointed by a local assembly specifically for managing the affairs of the temples dedicated for the worship of Kumāra.[3] But in the present context the term seems to stand for a place name.

Those who had accepted the monetary deposits and the responsibility for administering the endowments describe themselves as *kumārakaṇattup pērūrōm*, ' we who are of the *pērūr* of Kumārakaṇam'. The expression *pērūrōm*

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[2] *SII*, XIV, nos. 1403–4.

[3] K. Indrapala, 'Two Inscriptions from the 'Hindu Ruins', Anurādhapura, *Epigraphia Tamilica*, ed. K. Indrapala, Jaffna Archaeological Society, 1974, pp. 1–5. Commenting on these expressions K. Indrapala says: 'The phrase *kumāra kaṇattup pērūrōm* was misunderstood by Krishna Sastri when he rendered it as 'residents of Kumārakaṇattu-pērūr'. Kumārakaṇattup-pērūr is certianly not the name of a village. The term *pērūrōm* literally means ' we the residents of the big village', and stands for the members of the village assemblies or corporations in the same way as *nāṭṭār* (residents of the districts) ... *kumārakaṇam* is a term which occurs in contemporary south Indian inscriptions and stands for a group or a corporation holding trusteeship of single shrines. *Kumārakaṇattup-pērūrōm* refers to those villagers or citizens who were members of the *kumārakaṇam*.

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is the plural form, in the first person, of the word *pērūr*, which is a compound expression formed by adding the prefix *pēr* meaning 'great' or 'large' to the word which could designate either a village or a town or city (*nakaram*). This entity had belonged to Kumārakaṇam as suggested by the compound expression. It would seem that the *pērūr* referred to in these inscriptions was the prototype of a *mānakaram*,which was the designation of a category of towns dominated by merchants and distinguished from several others of their category by their pre-eminence . Such an explanation presupposes that Kumārakaṇam was a market town dominated by a merchant community. The two donors, Chaṅkan and Chennai, were Cheṭṭis, who presumably belonged to that town.

The Nāṉkunāṭu and the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi

An inscription set up by a mercantile community called the *nāṉkunāṭu* was also found among the so-called Tamil ruins in the northern sector of Anurādhapura. H.C.P. Bell reported the discovery of this interesting find in the Archaeological Commissioner's report for 1893.[4] It was set up by a group of persons called *nāṉku-nāṭṭār*, a merchant community of south Indian origin.

The Inscription is engraved in an admixture of Tamil and Grantha characters of the eighth and ninth centuries. In the Sanskrit portion, which is not quite comprehensible on account of its mutilated character, there is an eulogy of a king called Sēnavarman, who is described as *rājarāja*, 'The king of kings.' He was obviously a king of Anurādhapura where there were five rulers who had the name Sena.[5]

Sēnavarman could be any one of them although the tone of the descriptions of the king as found in the inscription seems to favour the identification of the ruler as Sēna II.[6] The eulogistic description of the king in a record set up by the Tamils of the *nāṉkunāṭu* presupposes that the people concerned and the king were interacting closely. They were probably serving as the king's commercial agents and negotiating the supply and collection of some commodities in which the royal court had an abiding interest.

This inscription refers to a Buddhist institution called Mākkōtaippaḷḷi, which is otherwise unknown. It was set up to record an arrangement made by the merchant community for the administration of some endowments made to the institution, in association with the employees of the monastery, *paḷḷiyil kammiyar*. The relevant passage recorded in lines 14–18 may be reconstructed in the following manner:

n[āṉku nā]ṭṭārālum amaikkappaṭṭa nālvarum [mākkōtaip] paḷḷiyil

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[4] H.C.P. Bell, *ASCAR for 1893*, Government Printer, Colombo. It was deciphered and published by Krishna Sastri in *SII*, IV, 1405.

[5] Sēna I 833-853, Sēna II 853-887, Sēna III 938-946, Sēna IV 954-956, Sēna V 972-982.

[6] Ka. Intirapala, *anurātapurattiluḷḷa nāṉkunāṭu nāṭṭār kalveṭṭu*, Chintanai, 1968, pp. 31-35

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kammiyarum kūṭi niṉṟu iddharmam [ko]ṇṭu cheluttuvatāka amaittuk ka[l]veṭṭuvittōm nāṉku nāṭṭōmum

'We of the *nāṉkunāṭu* caused this inscription to be engraved so that the four persons appointed [by us] would in conjunction with the employees of the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi continue to perform this charity (*dharma*).'

It is thus clear that there was in Anurādhapura a corporate mercantile community called *nāṉkunāṭṭār*. They had made an endowment to the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi and appointed a group of individuals to administer the endowment. The persons so appointed had to carry on the task assigned to them with the co-operation and support of the employees of the *paḷḷi*. Such a situation presupposes that the merchant community had a very close association with the administration of the monastery concerned. In fact, it would appear that this merchant community established it on an earlier occasion.

The name Mākkōtaip-paḷḷi is reminiscent of Kerala connections. A coastal town in Kerala known variously as Makōtai, Mākkōtai and Makōtaiyarpaṭṭinam is described in epigraphy and literature. Chuntara-mūrtti nāyaṉār, who lived in the eighth century, makes mention of a locality called Mākkōtai in one of his hymns.[7] It was situated on the seacoast and not far from Tiruvanchaikkaḷam near Koṭuṅgallūr. On the basis of a reference in the *Periyapurāṇam*, Mākkōtai is identified with the present day Cranganore or Koṭuṅgallūr.[8]

Mākkōtai was one of the principal centres of a flourishing itinerant trade in Kerala and the merchants of the *nāṉkunāṭu*, who had established the Mākkōtaip-paḷḷi in Anurādhapura, presumably, had close connections with Mākkōtai. The Buddhist association of the merchants of the *nāṉkunāṭu* may perhaps be explained in the light of the description of Vañchi as found in the *Maṇimēkalai* of Chāttanār.[9] According to that work there were, in Vañchinakaram, Buddhist monasteries and temples, and an imaginative reading of the description pertaining to them suggests that they had close links with those of Sri Lanka. So, it would appear that the merchant community called *nāṉkunāṭu*, who describe themselves as Tamils, were Buddhists, who had gone from Mākkōtai in Kerala to Anurādhapura and settled there in a commercial sector of that city. Their inscription provides a clear indication of their close associations with the monarchy to which material interests in the domain of itinerant trade bound them.

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[7] Chuntaramurtti tēvaram, Tarumai Atinam, Tarumapuram, 1964, pp. 34–43.

[8] Chēkkiḻār decribes Mākkōtai as follows: 'The anciect city of Koṭuṅkōḷūr is occupied by cultivated people praised in songs by poets. A landmark in that city is the temple of Śiva at Tirvañchaikkaḷam. The king of the lineage of the Chēra rules the ancient Malai-nāṭu, from this city. This city is also known as Mākkōtai as it is the city of the kings who had the tittle Kōtai. Mākkōtaiyar (Chēramān Perumāḷ) was born here through the grace of Śiva'. *Periyapurāṇam*, ed. Chu. Kirushnachuvami, Sriniketana accukkutam, Cennai, 1898, pp. 258–289.

[9] *Manimekalai*, ed., U.V. Swaminataiyar, Kapir Printing Works, Chennai, 1964: *vañchimānakaram pukka kātai.*

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It is clear from all that has been considered here earlier that there were itinerant merchant communities of south Indian origin settled in the northern quarter of Anurādhapura. They had close links with the monarchy and also probably the monastic establishments to which they supplied essential commodities and luxury articles of distant origin obtained through itinerant and sea-borne trade. The *nāṉkunāṭu* seems to have been relegated to a position of insignificance after the Chōḻa conquest.

The Nānādēsis

The northern part of the island was occupied by the Chōḻas around the eighth year of Rājarāja I (985–1014), after Anurādhapura had been abandoned by Mahinda V. Under the Chōḻas, the Nānādēsis, the Vīravaḷañchiyar and their associates, who had developed as the major merchant communities in the southern parts of India, secured a foothold in the island. They established their outpost in the interior and littoral parts of the country and secured a dominant position in the internal and external trade. Some of their settlements developed into market towns called *nakaram* during the early part of the 12th century.[10] During the period of the kings of Polonnaruwa the Nānādēsis had established themselves in Anurādhapura as evident from the inscription of Līlāvati and other monuments. The inscription of Līlāvati is significant as providing a clear indication of the character of the settlement of the Nānādēsis at a locality in Anurādhapura and their close interactions with the royal court of Polonnaruwa. It records:

> 'For the purpose of giving alms to the full satisfaction of the poor that throng into Anurādhapura from various quarters, she caused an alms house with the title of *pala-balavi medhavi* to be established, protected and maintained. And for supplying spices and the like (required) for it, she caused the *maḍighaya* called *pala-balavi medhavi* to be built in the neighbourhood of the alms house by the Nānādēsi merchants'.[11]

In this passage there are references to two institutions (1) an alms house and (2) a *maḍighaya*. Both institutions had the common name *pala balavi medhavi*, the connotation of which is not clear. On the analogy of the names of a large number of similar institutions in Sri Lanka and south India it may be assumed that they were named after an epithet of the Queen, which is otherwise unknown. The alms house established on the initiative of the Queen was expected to be protected and maintained by the Nānādēsis. For its maintenance Līlāvati made an endowment consisting of four *yala*s of field, thirty serfs and a hundred and fifty oxen and buffaloes. The tone and contents of the inscrip-

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[10] 14. S.Pathmanathan, 'The Nagaram of the Nānādēsis in Sri Lanka circa A.D.1000-1300', *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, IX, nos. 1 & 2, (1987) 122–63.

[11] D.M.de Z. Wickramasinghe, 'The Slab Inscription...of Queen Līlāvati'. *EZ*, I, pp. 177–182.

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tion suggest that the Nānādēsis accepted responsibility for administering the endowment.

Another consideration of considerable importance in relation to the Nānādēsis is the fact that the Queen had conferred on them the privilege of establishing and maintaining a commercial quarter called *maḍighaya* in Anurādhapura.[12] The grant made by Līlāvati was in effect a charter of legitimation in respect of the merchant community. The *maḍighaya* to be established by the Nānādēsis was to be managed by them and they were conferred the privilege of collecting tolls. As a measure of reciprocation the Nānādēsis accepted responsibility for maintaining a charitable institution established on the initiative of the Queen. The arrangement envisaged in the text of the inscription has the further implication that the privilege granted to the merchant community was potentially a monopoly in trading operations. They secured a commanding position in a commercial sector with legitimacy to eliminate competition from prospective rivals.

A further consideration that arises from a scrutiny of Līlāvati's grant is that the Nānādēsis were established in proximity to the centres of pilgrimage in the city of Anurādhapura. The Inscription specifically mentions that the alms house was to be maintained by the Nānādēsis for the full satisfaction of the poor that throng into Anurādhapura from various quarters. There are no grounds to entertain any doubt of the fact that the categories of people so referred to were pilgrims. The city had become a pilgrim's resort on account of the concentration of sacred monuments. There are valid grounds to believe that the Nānādēsis had become the suppliers of commodities of local and distant origin to the monastic establishments at Anurādhapura.

The presence of the Nānādēsis in the vicinity of the Thūpārāma is suggested by the discovery of the architectural remains of a temple the origins of which could be attributed to the Nānādēsis. The remains of a Hindu temple dedicated for the worship of the Mother Goddess in the form of Mahishamarddhani have been brought to light in the course of excavations conducted almost a century ago.[13] The remains were found in proximity to the 'Y' Road, at a distance of half a mile from the Thūpārāma. A stone image of Mahishamarddhani, which was originally installed in the sanctum of the temple, was one of the principal finds at the site. As the figure of Mahishamardahani is found on the seal of the Nānādēsis from Hambantota, and also on account of the consideration that the cult of this goddess was unknown in Sri Lanka in the period prior to the advent of the Nānādēsis, it may be assumed that the Nānādēsis established the temple concerned. Such an assumption presupposes that the Nānādēsis had a settlement in proximity to the Thūpārāma and its location suggests that the Nānādēsis were functionally associated with Buddhist sacred shrines as the suppliers of commodities required for rituals and worship.

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[12] For a discussion on *maḍighaya* see Chapter 5.

[13] H.C.P. Bell, *ASCAR*, Government Printer, Colombo, 1904.

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Bronze Image of the Nānādēsis

A miscellaneous assortment of bronzes was discovered at the Jētavanārāma site during the course of excavations conducted by the Cultural Triangle in 1982. Most of these items are exhibited in the Jētavanārāma museum of the Cultural Triangle while the rest, which had been taken to Colombo for display at an Exhibition, are presently deposited in a bronze gallery of the Colombo Museum.

Some of these are Hindu in character while a few others are Buddhist bronzes. There are still others, which have connections with rituals pertaining to irrigation works.[14] Some of these items are of a unique kind as they exhibit characteristics, which are not found in items illustrated in published volumes or described in manuals on iconography. They are significant as providing an indication of the interaction between two cultural traditions deriving inspiration from Hinduism and Buddhism during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. Besides, they also suggest the existence of a school of bronze casting in the old city of Anurādhapura, which had assimilated some characteristics of different schools of art in the process of inter-cultural communication.

Of the Hindu bronzes, of which there are eight in all, three are representations of Śiva in different forms while the fourth and fifth ones are those of Pārvati. The sixth item is a representation of a war god, who may be identified as Vīrabhadra. The seventh one may be identified with some measure of certainty as a representation of Yōgadakshiṇāmūrtti. The last one is that of a female deity whose identity cannot be established.[15]

Among these bronzes the one that is of the utmost importance in relation to the present theme is the figure of Vīrabhadra containing the expression *śrī nānātēchiyaṉ* inscribed in the form of a label on its pedestal. The figure could be assigned to the 12th century on the basis of palaeography of the label inscription.

As a historical monument this miniature bronze has a two-fold significance. It is unique in being the only one among those brought to light hitherto. That it had either belonged to the Nānādēsis or was given, as a gift by them, to a temple is a matter beyond dispute. Besides, it provides an indication of the fact that the Nānādēsis were established in the vicinity of the Jētavanārāma

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[14] There are metallic figures of fish, crab, frogs and snakes among the finds. Such finds were reported from other sites earlier. The *mahānirvāṇatantra* says that once irrigation works were constructed the ceremony of consecration should be conducted. The representations of fish, tortoise, crocodile and other aquatic beings should be enclosed in caskets and buried at the bottom of the reservoir. Ananda K.Coomaraswamy, *Bronzes from Ceylon Chiefly in the Colombo Museum*, Memoirs of the Colombo Museum Series A, No. I, Horace Hart, Oxford, 1914, Reprinted 1978, at The Department of Government Printing, Colombo.

[15] S. Pathmanathan, 'Some Bronzes From The Jētavanārāma Site of the Cultural Triangle, Anurādhapura', Department of Hindu Religious and Cultural Affairs, Colombo, 1998, (mimeograph). S. Pathmanathan, *Ilaṅkaiyil Intu Kalāchāram* (in Tamil) part I, Department of Hindu Religious and Cultural Affairs, Colombo, 2000, pp. 272-302.

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in Anurādhapura during the Polonnaruwa period. An imaginative reading of the text of the inscription of Queen Līlāvati, as seen earlier, supports such an impression.

The presence of the Nānādēsis at the Jētavanārāma site during the 12th century suggests the possibility of a close interaction between them and the monastic establishment. The monastic complex at Jētavanārāma was a large one still occupied by a considerable number of monks. As it was a focal point of religious and cultural activities a substantial number of people from various places visited the Jētavanārāma site. A regular supply of commodities of distant and local origin required for the monasteries, the floating population of pilgrims and the rituals at the temples had to be maintained. It was in such a setting that the Nānādēsis who were itinerants stepped in, established certain trading posts and carried on commercial operations, at the Jētavanārāma and other similar sites in the monastic city of Anurādhapura.

Another consideration of some historical and cultural significance is the possibility of the existence of a shrine dedicated to a cult practiced by the Nānādēsis at one of their settlements in the vicinity of the Jētavanārāma. In this connection it may also be observed that the discovery of a number of bronzes representing deities and conceptions associated with Śaivism at this site point to the existence of a Ḥindu temple at this site. It may be assumed that the shrine at which these Śaiva bronzes had been originally deposited was established by a merchant community.

The iconographic feature of this miniature bronze, which has a height of 15 cm and the weight of one kg is of an unusual and rather unique character. The figure is in a standing posture, but the disposition of the limbs and adornments are rather peculiar. The figure has a stout and stunted appearance with three bends, namely at the elbow, the hip and the shoulder. Each of the outstretched legs is planted firmly over a three-hooded serpent. The right hand, which is stretched upwards at an angle, holds a weapon, which has the appearance of a sword. The left-hand holds an object, which has the likeness of a head, severed from the body of a victim.

The locks of hair are depicted in the shape of a fan. A crown of peculiar design and shape surmounts the head, and on either side of it and attached to the locks of hair are hoods of serpents. There are no ornaments of the usual type on the limbs and instead of them there are curls of hooded serpents round the hands, the arms, the chest and the earlobes. The attire is small and covers the lower part of the body from the waist down to about half the length of the thigh. A part of the dress is an embroidered shawl tied round the waist in the form of a double band the ends of which hang in front sideways.

On the whole, the figure is awe-inspiring and has a terrific appearance. It has the likeness of a war god dancing in ecstasy in celebration of some victory. The attributes are unique and almost unknown to the traditions of Indian iconographic art. It is a representation of a war god propitiated by the

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Nānādēsis and especially a military community affiliated to them. He may be identified as Vīrabhadra, whose cult was more popular in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh than in Tamil Nadu in medieval times.

Plate 5a

Bronze Image of Virabhadra, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka

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7

Goldsmiths and Paḍineṇ-vishayam: A Bronze Buddha Image of Nagapattinam

N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu

It is a well known fact that there had existed in Nāgapaṭṭiṉam a strange shaped brick tower called Chinese Pagoda or Jaina Pagoda until it was demolished in 1867 by the local Jesuit mission people.[1] Less known is the fact that a Śrī Vijaya king of the Malay peninsula or Sumatra built a Buddhist *vihāra* there, with the permission of the Chōḻa kings during the twelfth century. In the proximity of this demolished brick tower a large number of bronze images were discovered before and after the demolition. When some five images were first discovered in 1856, there arose a controversy over the identification of them, namely whether they were Hindu or Buddhist. However, a close study of them and succeeding discoveries settled the controversy, and there is no doubt that they represent either the *Buddha*s or *Bōdhisattva*s. Twice more, in 1926 and 1934, a good number of images and other bronze items such as votive *stūpa*s were discovered, most of which have been preserved and displayed in the Government Museum in Chennai. They are reported in a Bulletin of the museum together with the history of their discovery.[2]

In October 1992 when an exhibition of the collection of Asian art belonging to Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller 3rd was held in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo, we saw a bronze Buddha image (Plate 6) quite similar to those discovered in Nāgapaṭṭiṉam. It is a fine piece of a standing Buddha (height about 68 cm) with *abhaya* and *varada mudra*, and is suggested in the catalogue

[1] Walter Elliot, 'The edifice formerly known as the Chinese or Jaina Pagoda at Nagapatam', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII (1878), pp. 224–27.

[2] T.N. Ramachandran, *The Nāgapaṭṭiṉam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, General Section, vol. VII, No. 1, Madras, 1965.

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of the exhibition as belonging to Nāgapaṭṭiṇam and to the eleventh century.[3] Though we noticed an inscription on the lotus pedestal of the image written in the Tamil script, we could not read it properly as the image was then kept within a thick and heavy glass cover and set in a corner of the room. We requested Mr. Y. Kanazawa of the museum, with whom we had once visited Nāgapaṭṭiṇam in search of Chinese ceramic-sherds, to take a picture when the exhibition was about to move to Osaka in November. Subsequently several photographs of the inscription were taken and we had occasion to examine them in December. This is a report of our decipherment of the inscription, which reveals some very interesting information.

The inscription was written in Tamil and Grantha scripts resembling those of the smaller Leiden grant[4] of Kulottunga I dated to his twentieth regnal year (AD 1090), and the language is Tamil. The text runs in two lines as follows:

[1] *irājēndracōḷa perumpaḷḷi akkasālaip perumpaḷḷi aḻvār-kōyilukku tiruvutsavam eḻundaruḷa āḻvār ivvāḻvārai eḻundaruḷuvittār ciṟutavūr nālāṅ kuṇākara-uḍaiyār*

[2] *svasti-śrī padineṇ-vishaiyattukkum akkasālaikaḷ nāyakar.*

The text may be translated into English as follows:

[1] (This is) the *āḻvār* for a festival procession of the temple of Akkasālai-perumpaḷḷi in Rājēndrachōḷa-perumpaḷḷi. This *āḻvār* was set up by Nālāṅ-guṇākara-uḍaiyār of Chiṟutavūr.

[2] Let it be auspicious! (This *āḻvār* called) Akkasālaikaḷ-nāyakar is for all the Padineṇ-vishaiyam.

This inscription is the longest among those so far noticed on the bronze images of Nāgapaṭṭiṇam[5] and is important for the following two points. First it clearly refers to Rājēndrachōḷa-perumpaḷḷi established in Nāgapaṭṭiṇam by a Kaḍāram (Śrī Vijaya) king, and mentioned in the smaller Leiden grant. Originally a request was made to Rājarāja I, the Chōḷa monarch, by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the Kaḍāram or (Śrī Vijaya) king, to allow him to establish a Buddhist *vihāra* in Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, and that construction was completed early in the reign of Rājēndra I, Rājarāja I's son and successor. It is recorded in the larger Leiden grant[6] of Rājarāja I dated to his twenty-first regnal year

[3] No. 4 of the *Treasure of Asian Art from the Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection*, the Asia Society, New York, Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo, 1992.

[4] K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'The Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I', *EI*, XXII (1934), 35.

[5] They are mostly such short inscriptions as *āttūr sāriputtira nāyakar* 'Buddha set up by Sāriputtira of Āttur village' or *nompiḷḷai nāyakar* 'Buddha set up by No[a]mpiḷḷai'. See the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* mentioned above.

[6] K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rājarāja I)', *EI*, XXII (1934), 34.

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(AD 1006), which refers to Rājarāja-perumpaḷḷi only. The smaller Leiden grant refers to Rājarāja-perumpaḷḷi and Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi, from which we can presume that the latter *paḷḷi* (Buddhist temple) was constructed during the time of Rājēndra I or Kulōttuṅga I, who also had the name Rājēndra[7]. Anyway, the present inscription testifies to the fact that the image of the present collection belonged to the Buddhist temple built by a Śrī Vijaya king.

The relation of the two names, Akkasālai-perumpaḷḷi and Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi is not clear. It can be interpreted in either of the two ways: Akkasālai-perumpaḷḷi might have been another name of Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi, though there is no term such as *āna*, 'alias', to denote that in the inscription. Or it was probably a small shrine within the Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi, though it also was described as *perum* (big). *Akkasālai* means 'mint' or 'workshop of goldsmith', which suggests that this temple was established for the welfare of the goldsmiths or by the goldsmiths. The second line of the inscription also suggests this point. In either case, however, there is no doubt that the image belonged to the Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi and it was taken in procession for festivals.

The second point of importance is its reference to the Padineṇ-vishayam organisation. During the Chōḻa period the activities of merchant guilds were conspicuous and we come across several names of those guilds in south Indian inscriptions. Padineṇ-vishayam, which was also popularly known as Ayyāvoḷe-ainūṟṟuvar, was the overarching corporation, which included several guilds such as Maṇigrāmam, Sēnāmugam, Nagaram, etc.[8] Some of these names appear also in Tamil inscriptions discovered in Śrī Lanka, the Malay peninsula and Sumatra.[9] Padineṇ-vishayam means 'eighteen countries'. Though we are not sure about the countries indicated by them, a synonymous expression *padineṇ-bhūmi* included the Malay peninsula (Kaḍāram), and Java (Chāvakam) among others, besides the Tamil country, according to the medieval Tamil literary tradition.[10] The activities of Padineṇ-vishayam, therefore, extended to Southeast Asian countries, with which Indian merchants had close contacts from the beginning of the Christian era.[11]

Jewellery merchants were important members of the merchant guilds men-

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[7] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri takes the Rājēndra of Rājēndrachōḻa-perumpaḷḷi for a name of Kulottunga I. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, University of Madras, Madras, 1949, p. 85.

[8] See Chapter 9.

[9] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South India and South-east Asia*, Geetha Book House, Mysore, 1978, pp.176 and 237. See also Chapter 9.

[10] *Tamil Lexicon*, vol. IV, part I, University of Madras, Madras, 1963, p. 2476: According to the fourteenth century Mayilanathar's commentary on the grammatical work *Naṉṉūl*, the 'eighteen countries' were Siṅgaḷam, Chōṉakam (Arabia), Chāvakam (Java), Chīṉam (China), Tuḷuvam, Kuḍagam, Koṅgaṇam, Kaṉṉaḍam, Kollam, Teliṅgam, Kaliṅgam, Vaṅgam, Gaṅgam, Magadam, Kaḍāram, Gavuḍam, Kōsalam, and Tamiḻagam.

[11] On these contacts, see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Hind Kitabs, Bombay, 1949 and G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Nouvelle edition, Paris, 1964.

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tioned above, and their close association with goldsmiths was quite natural. As stated in Chapter 2, there is a touchstone with a Tamil-Brahmi inscription of the third or fourth century AD in a private museum in southern Thailand.[12] According to the present inscription the Buddha image belonging to Akkasālai temple was for all the members of Padineṇ-vishayam merchant guild. This adds to the international character of Nāgapaṭṭiṉam during the Chōḻa period, already known to us through the Śrī Vijaya connection.

The present inscription may give us the impression that the members of the Padineṇ-vishayam were all Buddhist. It was not the case, however, as we have many inscriptions which record some donation to Hindu deities by members of the same guild.[13] The association of the members of Padineṇ-vishayam with Buddhism should be understood from the following two contexts: first, their international character discussed above, and second, syncretism of religions during the medieval period. The remains of Indian culture in Southeast Asian countries show it well, as we find that almost simultaneously Śaivism, Vaishṇavism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Tēravāda Buddhism, and their *tantric* forms of the later period, were all flourishing side by side there for many centuries down till the thirteenth century. In India also *tantrism* made Buddhism and Hinduism come closer after the tenth century.

In conclusion, the inscription on the pedestal of the Buddha image of the Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller 3rd collection has a two-fold importance: first, in its historicity referring to the Buddhist temple established by a Śrī Vijaya king, and second, in its connection with the artisans and merchants. Both show us the international character Nāgapaṭṭiṉam merchants had during the Chōḻa period.

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[12] See Chapter 2 in this book.

[13] For example, some Pandyan inscriptions (*SII*, VI, 40, 41 and 47) refer to the donation made by Padineṇ-vishayattar to some Hindu deity.

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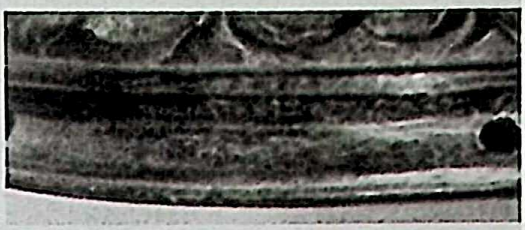
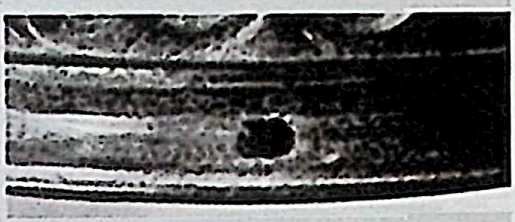
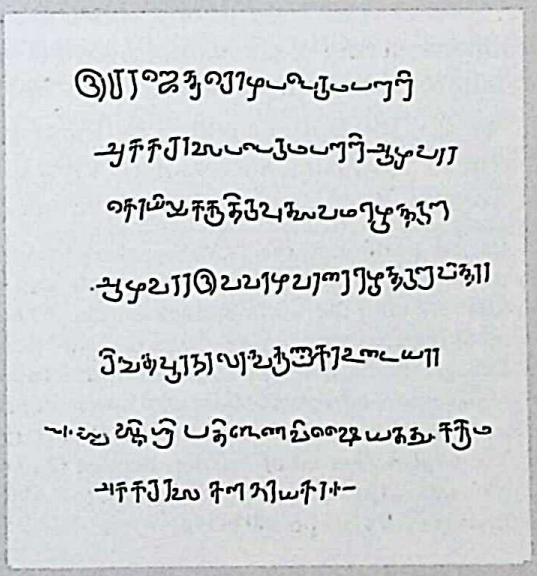
6.1. Bronze Image of Buddha
Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu.
(*Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection*)





6.2. Pedestal with Tamil Inscription

6.3. Text of the Inscription (Eye copy)



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8

Trade and Urbanization in Medieval Sri Lanka: The Vīrakoṭi Inscription at Budumuttava

S. Pathmanathan

The progress in epigraphical studies made in recent times have revealed the existence of a medieval mercantile town called Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram at Māgala, a locality adjoining the irrigation tank of that name in Nikaweratiya, in the Kurunegala District of the North Central Province in Sri Lanka. The information pertaining to this town is derived chiefly from three Tamil inscriptions found at the Rājamahāvihāra, a Buddhist temple at Budumuttava, a village situated a mile to the north west of Nikaweratiya. The three inscriptions were first noticed by E. Muller, though their contents were not within his comprehension.[1] These were later examined by H.C.P. Bell.[2] In 1929, S. Paranavitana recopied them and his brief descriptions of these inscriptions were recorded in the Epigraphical Summary published in the *Journal of Science*. Two of these inscriptions, which are found on granite pillars supporting the superstructure of the hall of a shrine, were successfully deciphered, edited and published by him subsequently in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.[3]

The two inscriptions edited by Paranavitana are dated in the eighth regnal year of Jayabāhu, successor to Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) at Polònnaruwa and contain references to Mānābharaṇa I, his nephew and heir-apparent.

[1] He has made only the following observations about these inscriptions: 'Three Tamil inscriptions on two pillars inside the temple and one large slab lying outside. On one of the pillars we read the words kalinga makan, "The son of the Kalinga (King)"'. E Muller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, London, 1988, p. 60.

[2] Though H.C.P. Bell found the inscription to be 'much damaged' he could recognize the words Lōkamātā and *vīramākāḷam* which were in his ipinion names of a goddess, H.C.P. Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report 1911–1912*, Colombo (1915), p. 115.

[3] *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G., vol. II, ed., A.M. Hocart and S. Paranavitana, Colombo (1913), p. 117 (ins. no. 475); S. Paranavitana, 'Two Tamil Inscriptions from Budumuttava', *EZ*, 3, pp. 302–312.

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One of these pillar inscriptions records the donations made by Chuntamalli, a Chōḷa princess and consort of Mānābharaṇa to the Śaiva shrine of Vikkiramachalāmēka-īśvaram. This inscription records the interesting information that this particular shrine was at Mākal, otherwise called Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram.

The second pillar inscription records a royal order relating to the settlement of a dispute between artisans (*kammāḷar*) and washermen (*vaṇṇār*) subsequent to an inquiry conducted by royal officers. These inscribed pillars seem to have been set up originally to support a hall attached to a Śaiva shrine referred to in one of the inscriptions. Two polished figures of *śivaliṅga* built into the walls of the Buddhist temple, where these inscriptions are found, and the uniform shape, size and workmanship of about a dozen rectangular pillars, including the ones bearing these inscriptions, which support the super structure of the present Buddhist shrine, suggest that the architectural remains of the twelfth century Śaiva shrine were used for the construction of parts of the Buddhist temple during the period of the Kandyan kings.

The contents of the third inscription, the one indited on a rectangular stone slab found near the Bo tree at the Rājamahāvihāra, until about ten years ago, could not be read by S. Paranavitana. He remarked that it is too weathered to admit of its being satisfactorily deciphered. However, on the repeated efforts made by the present author have enabled him to assert the claim that the text of the inscription records the activities of the merchant group called Ainūṟṟuvar and a military community allied to them[4] and these facts were later confirmed by the text of the inscription deciphered by Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam, under the guidance of Noboru Karashima. The inscription, which commences with a *praśasti* of the Ainūṟṟuvar was set up by the Vīrakoṭi. It records certain measures that were undertaken in the process of interaction between the *perumakkaḷ* of Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram and the Vīrakoṭi. That there was a close relationship between the two groups is clearly indicated by the tone and contents of the inscription. It would appear that the Vīrakoṭi were surrounded by some foes in a skirmish and that they were relieved by reinforcements sent by the *perumakkaḷ*. Such an incident, the details of which are vague in the description on account of the archaic character of expressions employed, suggests that the Vīrakoṭi were engaged in defending a caravan of merchants and their merchandise in the course of their journeys. They managed to overpower their enemies, with the support of reinforcements sent by the *perumakkaḷ*, and on their return they are said to have been rewarded with some honours and privileges for their bravery and sense of dedication. The temple of the Mother Goddess (in the town) was named Vīramākāḷam after the name of a regiment of the Vīrakoṭi. As a measure of reciprocation the Vīrakoṭi renounced their right to levy money and lamp-oil which were to be henceforth collected for the temple of Lōkamātā

[4] S. Pathmanathan, 'The Tamil Slab-Inscription of the Vīrakoṭi from Budumuttava, Nikaweratiya: Urbanization at Māgala,' *SLJH*, Vol. XX, Nos. 1 & 2, (1995), pp. 18–19.

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and the shrine of Lōkapperuñch-cheṭṭiyār at Ainūrruvanpaḷḷi.

The Nakaram of Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram

Among the items referred to in the inscription Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram, the temple of Lōkamātā, Ainūrruvan-paḷḷi, Vīramākāḷam and the Vīrakoṭi are the principal ones which require a detailed consideration here. The expressions *mākalāna vikkiramachalāmēkapuram* found in one of the pillar inscriptions and the slab inscription at Budumuttava clearly indicate that Mākal and Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram are the names of one and the same locality. Of these two names Mākal is the Tamil form of the Sinhalese name of Māgala. There are several references in the *Mahāvamsa* to Mahāgalla, which is the Pali form of the name Māgala.

The name Māgala was applied to the large irrigation tank at Nikaweratiya and a locality in its proximity. The mordern village of Budumuttava occupies an area that was included in the unit known as Māgala in medieval times. Māgala has been a flourishing agricultural settlement from the early centuries of the Christian era, and the principal source of its prosperity was the Mahāgalla tank constructed by Mahāsēna.[5] The existence of two dolomite images of the Buddha datable to the eighth or the ninth century at Budumuttava seems to suggest that there was a Buddhist establishment at the locality during the Anurādhapura period.

Māgala derived its importance on account of political, military and economic considerations. On account of its agricultural hinterland it had developed as a centre of commodity exchanges and cultural activities. Besides, occasionally, in different periods, it had served as a military outpost. The name Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram which was applied to Māgala in the early 12th century suggests that its character had been transformed from that of a village into one of a town (*nakaram*). It had, by that time, developed into a centre of itinerant trade where the staples of long distance trade were collected and distributed. Such an impression is confirmed by the presence of the Ainūrruvar and their associates at the locality as evident from the slab-inscription.

The name Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram is a compound expression formed by combining the words 'Vikkiramachalāmēkan' and 'puram'. The first of these is a royal epithet, being the Tamil form of the Sinhalese expression Vikrama Salamevan. It was since the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1070–1110) that the practice of naming temples, military units or localities after Vikkiramasalamevan had come into vogue.[6] The expression *puram* is generally applied to towns and fortified cities from ancient times. So, the name Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram is significant as providing an indication of the fact that

[5] *Mahāvamsa*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger (reprint), London 1958; trans. into English by Wilhelm Geiger with the assistance of Mabel Haynes Bode. (reprint), Colombo, 1950, 37:49.

[6] S.Pathmanathan, 'Vikramabahu and Vikramasalamevan', *SLJH*, XIX, nos. 1 & 2, 1995, pp. 93–11.

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the locality to which it was applied had assumed the character of a town, as suggested earlier. In medieval times there were many market towns in the kingdoms of lower South Asia, which were named after the names or epithets of kings. The town of Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram probably had its origins in the settlements of the Ainūṟṟuvar and their auxiliaries in the 11th Century. As the Ainūṟṟuvar are not known to have penetrated into the interior parts of the island before the Chōḷa conquest it is unlikely that their settlement at Mākal had its origins in an earlier period.

The development of Māgala as an urban centre with a commercial orientation was not an isolated phenomenon. It was one among several such centers which had a wide distribution in the island. Most of such towns were linked to the arteries of seaborne trade in which the Nānādēsis and their associates had played a significant role during the period under consideration. It may be recalled that the Nānādēsis otherwise called Ainūṟṟuvar in local inscriptions had established a *nakaram* in the environs of Panduvasnuvara as suggested by the expressions nānātēciya-paṭṭinam and paṭṭinappātai in the inscription from Detiyamulla. They were also established at two other places Galtenpitiya and Ataragalla in Dakkhiṇadēsa.

The expression '*perumakkaḷ* of Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram' occurring in the text of the Tamil slab inscription provides an indication of the corporate nature of the town. In Tamil epigraphy the expression *perumakkaḷ*, 'great people', is applied to designate the governing elites of the categories of settlements called *ūr, brahmadēya* and *nakaram* or *paṭṭinam*. They assembled periodically as a group and made decisions pertaining to lands, irrigation facilities, security, maintenance of temples and public institutions, administration of endowments, settlement of disputes and collection of tolls.[7] For the purpose of prosecuting work efficiently in areas of activity which came under their purview they appointed committees and assigned to them specific tasks. In mercantile towns generally merchants were in control of affairs, and on the basis of ascertained knowledge pertaining to most market towns of the contemporary period it may be assumed that the *perumakkaḷ* of Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram were the principal leaders of the merchant community called Ainūṟṟuvar established at Māgala. The fact that the *perumakkaḷ* had conferred honours and privileges on the military community, the Vīrakoṭi, and the consideration that they had made a contractual arrangement with them on matters relating to the collection of dues and temples within the locality suggest that they exercised considerable authority in local affairs. In other words Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram was a self-governing merchant town over

[7] The membership of *nakaram* and its standing committees seems to have been confined exclusively to members of trading communities, while others were under the jurisdiction (*kīḻkkalanaikaḷ*) of the *nakaram*. As administrative institutions the *nakarams* managed the affairs of their market places and exercised administrative right over the surrounding lands. Kenneth Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980.

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which the *perumakkaḷ* had exercised authority on a corporate basis. It may be noted that the Slab Inscription at Viharehinna refers to the *perumakkaḷ* of Tanmachākarappaṭṭinam otherwise called Māchēnakāmam.

The inscription from Budumuttava is also significant as a monument which focuses attention on the character of the relations that had existed between the *perumakkaḷ* and the Vīrakoṭi who were soldiers in their service. The inscription suggests that the Vīrakoṭi, who held a subordinate position under the *perumakkaḷ* had some privileges in the town. It would appear that in return for the services rendered they were accorded the privilege of collecting monetary levies and lamp-oil from the residents of the town. However, a need had arisen to review this position and the inscription was set up to record the arrangements made after a re-adjustment of the bilateral relationship between the two parties. The Vīrakoṭi renounced their claim for levying monetary contributions and lamp-oil on the promise of remuneration in the form of monetary payments and supplies for maintenance. Although the Vīrakoṭi claim that they were conferred honours and privileges, it would appear that the *perumakkaḷ* were in a position to exert effective control over their mercenaries. Such an impression implies that there was a considerable measure of stability in the administration of the town when the inscription was set up.

The Temple of the Mother Goddess

The existence of a temple dedicated to the worship of the Mother Goddess, Paramēśvari, the tutelary deity of the Nānādēsis, at Māgala is suggested by the following expressions:

> *patineṇpūmi vaiśravaṇa[rai vayiṟu] vāytta lōkamātāvai vīra mākāḷam eṉṟu pēr chāttiyamaiyālum...*
>
> 'Also because of the consideration that Lōkamātā, who had given birth to the merchants of the eighteen lands was bestowed the name Vīramākāḷam...'

It is interesting to find that a deity called Lōkamātā, 'the mother of the world', is described here figuratively as 'the mother of the merchants of the *patineṇpūmi* ('the eighteen lands'). Such a description is often applied in the inscriptions of medieval merchant guilds in relation to Paramēśvari. It may be recalled here that the Ainūṟṟuvar and the Vīravaḷañchiyar are described as the children of the Goddess Paramēśvari (*śrī ayyappoḻilpura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya*) in many inscriptions. So, it may be assumed that Lōkamātā is an epithet of Paramēśvari, the tutelary deity of the Nānādēsis.

In the slab inscription is found the passage *lōkamātāvai vīramākāḷameṉṟu pēr chātti*, which translates: 'having named Lōkamātā as Vīramākāḷam'. Idiomatically these expressions have the connotation that either the image of Lōkamātā, the presiding deity of a temple, or a temple dedicated for the worship of that Goddess was named Vīramākāḷam after the name of a group of warriors. The validity of such an explanation is confirmed by the reference

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to the Ainūṟṟuvanpaḷḷi in the same inscription. Just as a Buddhist temple was named Ainūṟṟuvanpaḷḷi after the name of a community of merchants, the Ainūṟṟuvar, the temple of the Mother goddes could have been named after the name of a military community allied to them, the Vīramākāḷam.

An alternate interpretation of these expressions is also possible because of the different connotations attached to the words *pēr chātti* in epigraphic usage. A corresponding expression *tirunāmam cāttiyatu*, 'had applied the sacred name', is employed to convey an altogether different sense in a Tamil Slab Inscription from Palamottai, which records an endowment made by a Brahmin widow to a Śaiva shrine at the *brahmadēya* of Kantalay.[8] The endowments and the performance of specific duties attached to them were placed under the custody of a regiment of the Vēḷaikkāṟar. The expressions '*valaṅkai vēḷaikkāṟan eṉṟu tirunāmam chāttiyatu*' as found in that inscription were intended to convey the idea that the endowments made by the Brahmin widow were registered in the name of the Vēḷaikkāṟar and placed under their custody.[9] It is therefore probable that a similar arrangement is referred to in the inscription from Budumuttava. Thus, it could also be assumed that the military unit called Vīramākāḷam had established a custodial relationship with the temple of the Mother Goddess under an arrangement made by the *perumakkaḷ*.

Ainūṟṟuvanpaḷḷi

The Ainūṟṟuvanpaḷḷi referred to in the slab inscription was undoubtedly a Buddhist temple founded or restored and maintained by the mercantile community called Ainūṟṟuvar. In Tamil usage the word *paḷḷi* is generally applied to Jaina or Buddhist monasteries and temples. In Sri Lanka, however, the use of this word seems to have been confined exclusively to Buddhist institutions, according to the available evidence.

The association of the Ainūṟṟuvar and other mercantile communities with some Buddhist institutions in the island is known also from other inscriptions. An undated epigraph from Polonnaruwa, which could be assigned to the early eleventh century on paleographical considerations, for instance, mentions a monastery or temple at a settlement of the Ainūṟṟuvar (*Ainūṟṟuvar pati paḷḷi*).[10] The Ainūṟṟuvanpaḷḷi at Māgala was likewise a Buddhist temple with which the mercantile community of the same name was associated. As there is reason to believe that the locality was the site of an ancient Buddhist establishment, it is probable that the Ainūṟṟuvar were involved in the restoration and maintenance of an old institution.

The contents of the inscription suggest that the Vīrakoṭi had some close relationship with the Buddhist temple at Māgala, as it was in respect of the temple of Paramēśvari. The levies in the form of money and lamp-

[8] S.Paranavitana, 'The Slab-Inscription from Palamottai', *EZ*, 3, pp. 302–312.

[9] S. Paranavitana, 'The Tamil Slab-Inscription of the Vīrakoṭi...' *SLJH*, XX, nos. 1 & 2, p. 22.

[10] *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, part II, ed., A. Veluppillai, Peradeniya, 1972, pp. 9–12.

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oil which they had collected (from the residents of the town) earlier were to become the dues of the temple of Paramēśvari and the shrine of a deity called Lōkapperuñcheṭṭiyār at Ainūrruvanpaḷḷi. As an expression, *lōkapperuñcheṭṭiyār* is rarely found elsewhere.[11] It is a compound of three words: *lōkam* (world), *perum* (big) and *cheṭṭiyār* (merchant). So, in a strictly literal sense the expression would mean 'the great merchant of the world'. But from the context in which it occurs, it would appear that it is applied to a deity enshrined in the temple and not to a merchant.

Lōkap-peruñcheṭṭiyār may be identified as Skanda/Murukan on the basis of a reference in one of the hymns of Chuntaramūrtti nāyanār on the temple of Tiruvārūr. In that hymn he describes Śiva as Cheṭṭiyappan, the father of Cheṭṭi.[12] In Tamil lexicography the word *cheṭṭi* is explained as an appellation of Skanda/Murukan. So, the expression Lōkap-peruñcheṭṭiyār in the inscription could be explained as a description of Skanda/Murukan.[13] Such an explanation presupposes that there was a shrine of Skanda in the Buddhist temple at Māgala during the early 12th Century when the inscription concerned was indited. Perhaps Skanda had been accommodated into the Buddhist pantheon of deities and had emerged as a guardian deity by that time.

It is significant that the earliest reference to Skanda as a god in the Buddhist pantheon of deities is found in a record of a mercantile community of south Indian extraction. It was hitherto believed that the entry of Skanda into the Buddhist pantheon of deities was the result of Hindu influences operating in the island. In the light of our examination of the evidence from this inscription this view may have to be revised, and there is a possibility that the practice of accommodating Skanda in a specially constructed shrine within the premises of a Buddhist temple had originated in the Buddhist tradition in south India. There has been a close interaction among the Buddhist centers of Sri Lanka and south India until the days of Portuguese conquest and much of this interaction was sustained through the agencies of merchant communities. The inscription concerned, therefore, is of the utmost importance for the history of religion in Sri Lanka.

The Vīrakoṭi and their functions

The inscription under study provides the indication that the group of peo-

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[11] Another attested occurrence of this term is found in a similar inscription at Detiyamulla, in Kurunegala Dt. of Sri Lanka. *Avanam*, 9 (1998), pp. 35–36, line 26.

[12] The relevant passage runs: *kātalar kātaṟchūr taṭinta cheṭṭi appanaich-chelva ārūranai...* Chuntaramurtti's *tēvāram-tiruppatikaṅkaḷ*, Tarumaiyātīnam, Tarumapuram, 1964. Modern lexicographers define the word *cheṭṭi* as one of appellations of Murukan. *Tamil Lexicon*, vol. 3, University of Madras, 1982, p. 1583.

[13] S. Pathmanathan 'Skanda as a guardian god of Lanka—The significance of the Budumuttava Inscriptions', *Kaveri: Studies on Epigraphy, Archaeology and History Professor Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume*, ed., S. Rajagopal, Panpattu Veliyittakam, Chennai, 2001, pp. 445–450.

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ple called Vīrakoṭi were included in the composite population of Māgala during the period under consideration. The text of the inscription was drafted by the Vīrakoṭi as they are referred to therein in the first person plural as *vīrakoṭiyōm*, 'we of the Vīrakoṭi'. Most of the inscriptions pertaining to merchant guilds and their *nakaram* in Sri Lanka were in fact set up by the Vīrakoṭi.[14] They were undoubtedly close associates of the merchant communities, and there is reason to believe that they were usually conferred with some privileges and invested with some responsibility in managing the affairs of the towns dominated by the merchants. In the inscription at Vahalkada the Vīrakoṭi are said to have played a leading role in resurrecting the *vīrapaṭṭinam*. However, until recently, it was not clear from the texts of inscriptions as to how the Vīrakoṭi had secured a position of influence and authority in mercantile towns. There has been some speculation about the Vīrakoṭi in previous Sri Lankan writings. K. Indrapala, for instance, says:

> The Vīrakoṭi or Vīrakoṭiyar were another mercantile community found in Ceylon about the twelfth century. They are recorded in the Vahalkada inscription to have associated themselves with the Cheṭṭis in making certain steps to protect a town. In May 1969, another Tamil inscription of the Vīrakoṭi was discovered at Illakatta Eba near Chilaw. In this record, they are referred to as the patineṇpūmi Vīrakoṭi. They are mentioned in a few south Indian inscriptions too, but do not seen to have been a permanent trading body.[15]

Indrapala's contention that the Vīrakoṭi were a mercantile community is unfounded. That 'the Vīrakoṭi' were presumably a military corporation or a community given to martial pursuits is the opinion expressed with some hesitation by A. Velupillai. Our examination of the epigraphic notices on the Vīrakoṭi suggests that they were in fact a military community. In a literal sense the word Vīrakoṭi could be interpreted as 'the banner of heroism'. It is in this sense that this word is used in the inscriptional preamble of the Chōḻa king Vīrarājēndra (1062–1069).[16] In the traditions of the Chōḻa monarchy 'the banner of heroism' is associated with their peculiar conception of heroic kingship, and was prominently displayed in ceremonial martial parades conducted in the celebrations of victories in war. This suggests that the expression Vīrakoṭi had close connections with chivalry, martial prowess and the military profession.

The impression that the Vīrakoṭi were warriors is confirmed by the con-

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[14] S. Pathmanathan, 'The Town of Vikkiramachalāmēka-puram in the Twelfth Century AD, *Tamil Chakittiya Vila Chirappu Malar*, Department of Hindu Religious and Cultrual Affairs, 1993, p. 123. See also Chapter 4.

[15] K. Indrapala, 'Some Mercantile Communities of South India and Ceylon'. *Journal of Tamil Studies*, II, no. 2, (1970), pp. 1–15.

[16] T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar, *Piṟkālach chōḻar varalāṟu* (in Tamil), University of Annamalai (1974), p. 58.

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tents of the present inscription. There are references in the epigraph to the *vīrakoṭiit tantiram* (the army of the Vīrakoṭi) and the Vīramākāḷam. It may be recalled here that the expression *mahātantiram* occurs in the Polonnaruwa inscription of the Vēḷaikkāṟar as the designation of an army. Besides, that inscription also employs the term *paṭai* meaning 'army' with reference to the subdivisions of the *mahātantiram*. On account of these considerations the word *tantiram* found in the inscription at Budumuttava may be construed as one that denotes an army unit. This particular military unit is in one instance referred to Vīramākāḷam. The Vīrakoṭi who had set up the slab inscription and are referred to several times therein appear to have belonged to the army (*tantiram*) called Vīramākāḷam. The validity of such an explanation is also confirmed by the description in the text of the inscription of skirmishes in which the Vīrakoṭi were engaged.

The Vīramākāḷam

That the Vīramākāḷam was not a name of Kāḷi as suggested by A. Velupillai but that of a military unit is confirmed by the evidence from the *Kantapurāṇam*. An entire section, the *mākāḷar varu paṭalam* in the *achura kāṇṭam* of that work contains a description of Vīramākāḷar, an invisible valiant warrior who terrorized the Asuras guarding the consort of Indra while she was in captivity.[17] While focusing on the relevance of the account of the *Kantapurāṇam* for an elucidation of the word *vīramākāḷam*, it should, as a matter of caution, be noted here that this *purāṇam* is elevating to the plane of the gods matters relating to worldly affairs in respect of the Vīramākāḷar. In the *Kantapurāṇam* the form *vīramākāḷar* appears as one with an honorific singular termination. The word *vīramākāḷar* as found in this text could be explained as one which denotes a person who belonged to a group called *vīramākāḷam*. That such a group was a military unit is clear from the descriptions found in this work. The leader of the hosts of the warriors of Chāttan (Aiyanār), 'The hero among heroes', 'the most terrible among fierce warriors', 'the one who spells death to the lord of death' (*kālanukkum kālan*), and 'the one who is unsurpassed in swordsmanship' are some of the descriptions about the *vīramākāḷar* in the *Kantapurāṇam*. Its author seems to have based his description of the *vīramākāḷar* on local traditions relating to a group of warriors known collectively by that name and reputed on account of their chivalry and heroism in Medieval south India.

The inscription at Budumuttava deserves our attention also on account of the symbols represented on it. Below the inscribed portion of the slab are to be found the representations of seven objects, namely, a sword-case, a bag (*pachumpai*), a long knife, bow and arrow, a sabre and a weapon referred to as *kōlam* in Tamil. Some of these symbols are found in other inscriptions recording the activities of merchant communities and their associates in the

[17] *Kantapurāṇam*, ed. Arumuka Navalar, Vittiyanupalana Yantiracalai, Chennai (9th impression, 1958), p. 307. 2.4,12.

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island and in south India.[18] The representation of many weapons on a stone slab in which the text recording the activities of the Vīrakoṭi is engraved also confirms the explanation that they were a military community organized on a corporate basis like the Vēḷaikkāṟar in Polonnaruwa.

In conclusion it may stated that Māgala, which was a flourishing agricultural settlement with a long history, had developed into a town of considerable importance supporting a composite population on account of commercial prosperity. As a focal point of commercial intersection, cultural activities and inter-cultural communication it had attained a level of development that was surpassed only by Panduvasnuvara in the whole of Dakkhiṇadēsa. It was linked to the arteries of internal and international trade through the agencies of the Nānādēsis whose establishments in the town were protected and maintained by the military units of the Vīrakoṭi.

Plate 7

Virakoti Inscription, Budumuttava, Sri Lanka

[18]See Chapter 11.

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9

Ainūṟṟuvar: A Supra-local Organization of South Indian and Sri Lankan Merchants

N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu

Eulogy

Among the inscriptions relating to the or*ainūṟṟuvar* (*ainūrvvar* in Kannada),[1] there are many which record the resolution or agreement made by the members of a number of merchant organizations assembled in a place. Most of those inscriptions have the eulogy (*praśasti*) of the *ainūṟṟuvar* in the beginning, like the king's eulogy which is usually given in the beginning. The earliest eulogy of the *ainūṟṟuvar* so far discovered in Tamil Nadu is found in an inscription at Kamudi, Ramanathapuram District, dated to the middle of the tenth century and that in Karnataka is found in a copper-plate inscription found at Bedkihal, Belgaum District, dated to AD 1000. Strangely, however, they already show a somewhat mature stage of eulogy formation, being long enough to accommodate mythological explanations too. The eulogy of the Kamudi inscription can definitely be recognized as the eulogy of the *ainūṟṟuvar* on circumstantial grounds, even though the term *ainūṟṟuvar* itself is not found in the inscription. The text of the Kamudi inscription runs as follows:

> *svasti śrī samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcaśata vīraśāsaṅa lakshaṇa lakshita lakshmi vakshastala [alaṅgṛita] śrī vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūlabhadhra urbhava śrī vīra paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya*
>
> *patiṉeṭṭup paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷāpuramum aṟupattu nālu kaḍikait tāvaḷattu ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭi puttirarum kavaṟaiyum kāmuṇṭasvāmiyum cīriya toḻil [vāriya]ṉum [āriyam] payiṉṟa*

[1] *Aiññūṟṟuvar*, *aiṉṉūṟṟuvar*, and *ainnūṟṟuvar* are other variants of the same term in Tamil inscriptions; *ainūrbbar*, *ainūruvaru* are other variants in Kannada inscriptions.

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āvaṇakkāṟaṉum [vēntaṉum] [ṟilaraiyā pammuva?]ci vīraṉum kōṭṭaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa vīrar

The above eulogy does not mention the name of *ainūṟṟuvar* directly but mentions the groups that it comprised, namely the *cheṭṭi, cheṭṭiputtiran, kavaṟai*, etc as having 500 charters (*vīraśāsana*), as their chest being adorned by Lakshmi, as having descended from Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi, and Mūlabhadra, as the sons of Paramēśvari, and as having their transactions in 18 *paṭṭiṉam*, 32 *vēḷāpuram*, and 64 *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*. In essentials this eulogy resembles the eulogy found in the **Bedkihal** inscription as may be noted below.

svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyātam pañcasata vīraśāsana labdhānēka guṇagaṇāḷaṁkita sattya saucācāra cārita nayavinaya sampannarappa śrī vīrabaḷaṁjada dharmmapratipāḷana visuddha guḍḍadhvaja virājitamappa lakshmī vaksasthaḷam sarāḷiṅgita bhuvanaparākkramam vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadhrōdbhavam bhagavatī varaprasādam

dvātrimsa vēḷāvuḷa ashṭādasa paṭṭaṇam causashṭi yōgapīṭham aṟuvattanālku ghaṭikasthānaṁ nānā dēsa bhramaṁta vidagdha siddhāgama vākusiddharum bhalluṅki daṇḍa hastar aiyavoḷeya pura paramēśvarar

kalaha saṁpuṁnar ācāragaligaḷ toḍare balugaṁḍar peṇake kaḍugūrppar kritayugaṁ trete dvāparaṁ kaliyugaṁ nālku yugadoḷaṁ brahmā vishṇu mahēśvarara matame pasuṁbeyāgeyu ashṭalōkapāḷakar goṁṭageyu eṁṭuṁ deseya dēvategaḷe goḷasāgeyu vāsugeye baḷasāgeyuṁ phaṇikuḷame dāramāgeyuṁ bokkaṇame uḷavasuṁbeyāgeyuṁ khaṭvāṁgame kōlāge caṁdrādityarkkaḷaṇasāgeyuṁ cakkrame bēḷamāgeyuṁ vajrakavacame kaṁculikeyāgeyuṁ dvāvatiyabhaṁḍame tāyi bhaṁḍamāgeyuṁ aisaṁbarama amaulyavasugaḷāgeyuṁ naḍedum nuḍiduṁ saṁda

śrīmateṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvarum ādiyāge aynūrbaru svāmigaḷge

The above passage may be summarised, excluding the descriptive embellishments, as follows: They possess the 500 charters, they protect or observe the *dharma* or code of conduct of the the *vīra-baṇañjas*, they are the descendants of Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi, and Mūlabhadra, they possess the boons granted by Bhagavati, they transact in all countries including the 32 *vēḷāvuḷa* (i.e., *vēḷāpura*), the 18 *paṭṭaṇam*, the 64 *yōgapīṭha*, and 64 *ghaṭikasthānam*, and they are the *bhalluṁkidaṇḍa-hastar*, the lords of Aiyavoḷepura—they are the Five Hundred (*aynūrbaru*) lords or greatmen including the Sixteen of the Eight Nāḍu. It may be noted that the hyperbolic statements in this inscription relating to the heroism and adventures of the *ainūṟṟuvar* resemble to some extent the more elaborate description found in the famous Belagami (Shimoga District) inscription and in a way it is a prelude to the latter.

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The **Samuttirapatti** (Madurai District) Tamil inscription dated to AD 1050 is more elaborate than the Kamudi inscription, but it does not have the exaggerated statements found in the Bedkihal inscription. Its text is as follows:

svasti śrī vikkirama cōḻapāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 26 āvatu samasta bhuvaṇāśraya pañcasata śāsaṇa laksaṇē lakshmī vakshastala puvaṇa parākrama śrī vāsudēva kaṇḍaḻi mūlapattirōṟpava śrī ayyapoḻilpura paramēcuvarikku makkaḷāki śrī paḻa paṭṭārakikkut tuṇaivarāki

patiṉeṭṭuppaṭṭaṇamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷāpuramum [aṟupa]ttunāṉku kaṭikait tāvaḷamum tāvaḷattiruntu samaiyattaṇmai iṉitu naṭaṭirukkiṉṟa ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭiputtiraṇum kavaṟaiyum kāttarivaṇum kāmuṇṭa suvāmiyum korṟakkuṭai panmai muṉṉūṟṟuvarum koṅgavāḷḷeḻunūṟum aṅgakāṟaṇum āvaṇakkāṟaṇum ulakaṇum uḻpacumpaik [kāṟanum] ci toḻil vāriyanum ceṇṭuvatu uḷḷiṭam vāṭṭiṉa tuṭṭaperuki aṟam vaḷarak kalimeliya ticai aṉaittum ceviṭupaṭāmal ceṅgōlēy muṉṉāka samaiyataṇmai iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa

nāṉkuticaip patiṉeṇpūmi nāṉātēcit ticaiyāyirattainnūṟṟuvarum paṇiyānāṭṭut ticaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvarum nam makkaḷ nāṭṭuc ceṭṭikaḻum ticai-ceṭṭikaḻum nammakkaḷ patiṉeṇpūmi paṇicey makkaḻum upaiyammāy iruntu

Here it is stated that they possess 500 charters called *vīra śāsanam*, they have Lakshmi in their chest, they are descendants of Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḻi and Mūlabhadra, and sons of Paramēśvari, they transact in 18 *paṭṭanam*, 32 *vēḷāpuram*, 64 *kaḍigaitāvaḷam*. After this, the groups who actually formed together the *ainūṟṟuvar* are enumerated starting from Cheṭṭi and ending with *vīar*. and at the end comes the *ainūṟṟuvar* covering all the groups stated before. This Tamil eulogy can be regarded as somewhat standard during the 11th century. The eulogy gets elaborated in course of the next century and the longer ones are found in Kannada inscriptions, the most elaborate being that of Belagami dated to c. 1150.[2] Of the Kannada inscriptions, however, the Terdal inscription may be quoted here, as it refers to the items which are not found in the above three eulogies. Its text runs as follows:

svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁcaśata vīraśāsana labdānēka guṇagaṇ āḷaṁkṛita satya śaucācāra cārucāritra nayavinaya vijñāna vīrabaṇaṁju dharmma pratipāḷana viśuddha guḍḍadhvaja virājitānēkasāhasa lakshmī samāliṁgita vakshastāla bhuvana

[2] The inscription is in two parts, the earlier part dated to AD 1054 and the latter part to c. 1150 by the editor Lewis Rice and this latter part contains the long eulogy. For the text of the Belagami inscription, see Appendix 2, no. 21.

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parākramōnnataruṁ mukhapaṭṭigarūtpatti baladēva vāsudēva khaṇḍaḷi mūlabhadra vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ padmāvatīdēvi labda varaprasādarum appa śrīmad ayyavaḷeyaynūrvva svāmigaḷu

The Terdal inscription is a little different from the Bedkihal inscription in that it refers additionally to the hill banner or flag (*guḍḍa dhvaja*) and adds Baladēva to the trio Vāsudēva, K(h)aṇḍaḷi, and Mūlabhadra, and also mentions that the *aynūrvvar* had boons given by Padmāvatīdēvi.

If we compare all the four texts given above we find slight differences among them. The Samuttirapatti eulogy refers to Ayyappoḷilpura, i.e., Aihoḷe as the place of Goddess Paramēśvari and to Goddess Bhaṭṭaraki as their friend, and the Terdal eulogy mentions the hill banner. From the above mentioned texts, therefore, and from others also, we understand that the important matters given in the eulogy are (1) the charter they have, in which their rights and duties are supposed to be described, (2) the *dharma* they practice as merchants (*baṇñju/vaḷāñjiyar*) such as honesty and braveness, (3) their lineage from the three gods, Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra, (4) their close relation with Aihoḷe through its deity Paramēśvari (Durga), 5) the wide area represented by 18 *paṭṭana*, 32 *vēḷāpura* and 64 *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*, where their activities are conducted, and 6) their hill banner. Though some longer ones have elaborate mythological descriptions of their fighting against enemies, they do not seem to be essential. There are many variations, and in some, another deity is associated with the three gods. Paramēśvari is replaced by Bhagavati, and 64 *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam* is combined with or replaced by 64 *yōgapīṭha*s in many Kannada inscriptions.

From the above examination, two things are clear: (1) *ainūṟṟuvar* is the organization of merchants whose activities cover a wide area and (2) their origin is claimed to be in Aiyāvoḷe, present Aihoḷe, Bijapur District of Karnataka. It is, however, strange that the activities of this merchant orgnisation was more conspicuous in Tamil Nadu for the early centuries, namely ninth and tenth centuries, as clarified in Chapter 1, and again the earliest eulogy comes from Tamil Nadu, notwithstanding its obvious Karnataka connection as suggested by the Kannada features in that eulogy. For example, the Kamudi inscription, though it does not have explicit reference to Aihoḷe, mentions, as a merchant group, the name *gāmuṇḍasvāmi*, which is a familiar Kannada term.

Another puzzle is found in Aihoḷe itself. An inscription of Gaudaragudi temple and another in Lad Khán temple, both in Aihoḷe and ascribable to the end of the eighth century, are the first inscriptions which refer to the term *aiynūru* (Five Hundred), but it is only associated with Brahmins (*mahājanam* or *chaturvēdis*)[3] and not with merchants. In Aihoḷe there are two other inscriptions of the twelfth century which also mention the number 500, but in

[3] (1) *SII*, XV, 463—*śrī mahā cāturvidya samudayamaynūṟuṁ mahājanamuṁ*; (2) *IA*, VIII, pp. 287ff.—*śrī mahā cāturvidya samudayam ainūrvvarkaṁ.*

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those also the number refers to the Brahmin organization.[4]

The eulogy of the *ainūṟṟuvar* began to appear in Tamil Nadu from the middle of the tenth century, and in Karnataka probably a little later. However, the people who claimed their association with it were definitely merchants who were composed of various communities. The Brahmin organization established in Aihoḷe in the eighth century might have controlled or been involved in commercial activities, but the reason why the later merchants both in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu claimed their relation with it remains enigmatic at present.

Component Groups

As seen in the texts above, the eulogy often refers to, besides *ainūṟṟuvar*, various groups of merchants and people of other professions. Even if those groups are not included in the eulogy, they appear in the subsequent part of the inscription, as they are the people who actually make a resolution or agreement in an assembly, for the purpose of which the inscription is engraved. We shall tentatively classify those groups into the following ten categories, along with their total number of occurrences, using data from the fifty-five inscriptions[5] which were selected for close analysis.

1. Organizations or groups of big merchants

1. *ainūṟṟuvar* (the Five Hundred) 24
2. *eraḍ-ainūṟvva-svāmigaḷu* (the two Five Hundred) 2
3. *baḷañja/baṇañjika/vaḷañjiya* (merchant) 8
4. *gavaṟe/kavaṟai* (merchant) 17
5. *nakhara/nagara* (townsmen) 10
6. *nānādēśi* (merchants of different countries) 10
7. *nānādēśi-byavahārigaḷu* (merchants of different countries) 1
8. *lāḷa-maleyāḷa-nānādēśigaḷ* (merchants of Lāṭa and Kēraḷa) 1
9. *malaimaṇḍalattu-pala-nagaraṅgaḷ* (merchant groups of Kerala) 1
10. *padiṉeṇbhūmi* (the Eighteen countries) 14
11. *padiṉeṇvishayam* (the Eighteen countries) 3
12. *eṁṭunāḍu-padinaṟuvaru* (the Sixteen of the Eight Nāḍus) 8
13. *eṁṭunāḍa-seṭṭiguttaru* (śeṭṭiguttas of the Eight Nāḍus) 1
14. *seṭṭi/cheṭṭi* (merchant) 21
15. *seṭṭi-guttaru* (merchant) 8
16. *seṭṭi-(vīra) puttiran* (same as *seṭṭi-guttaru*) 8
17. *teṉṉilaṅgai-vaḷañjiyar* (the merchants of Sri Lanka) 2
18. *vaiśrāvaṇar* (merchant) 11

2. Local organizations of landholders having chiefly power

1. *arasu* (chief) 1
2. *arasu-makkaḷ* (chiefly group) 1

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[4] (1) *KR*, 1952-53, 24—*Ayyavoḷe aynūrvvaru mahājana*; (2) *KR*, 1952-53, 97—*śrīman mahāgraharav-ayyavoḷe-yaynūrvarar svāmigaḷa*.

[5] See the List of Analysed inscriptions in Appendix 3.

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3. *gāmuṇḍa* (landholder) 4
4. *gāmuṇḍa-svāmi* (headman among landholders) 11
5. *chittiramēḻi-periyanāḍu* (the big assembly of agriculturialists) 2

3. Groups of Local merchants dealing with specific merchandise

1. *danma-tāvaḷar* (merchants of the locality) 2
2. *danma-vāṇigar* (merchants) 1
3. *dūsiga-vyavahārigaḷu* (cloth merchants) 1
4. *eleya-gātrigaru* (betel-leaf merchants) 1
5. *gātrigaru* (betel-leaf merchants) 15
6. *gātrigaru-aivattokkalu* (the fifty families of the betel-leaf merchants) 25
7. *karaiyār* (*nīṇda-karaiyār*) (fish merchants) 2
8. *maṇigrāmam* (a merchant group) 3
9. *sāliga-samayaṅgaḷu* (weaver/cloth merchants) 1
10. *sēṇigaru* (oil merchants) 1
11. *sēṇiga-gottaḷi* (families of oil merchants) 1
12. *taḷa(da)-seṭṭi* (the merchant of the village) 4
13. *tichai-cheṭṭi* (the merchant of the village) 1
14. *tāmbuliga-1000* (a betel-leaf merchant group) 2
15. *tāvaḷa-cheṭṭi* (merchant of the village) 2
16. *telliga-gottaḷi* (the families of oil merchants) 1
17. *telligar-aivattokkalu* (the fifty families of oil merchants) 2
18. *tōyāvattira-cheṭṭi* (cloth merchant) 1
19. *tūchuvar* (weaver/cloth merchant) 1
20. *vāṇiya-nagaram* (oil merchants) 1
21. *vāṇiyar* (oil merchants) 1
22. *vaisiya-vāṇiyar* (merchants) 1

4. Merchants-cum-warriors

1. *bīra-vaṇigaru* (warrior merchants) 6
2. *karuṇākara-vīrar* (a Sri Lankan merchant group) 1
3. *mummuridaṇḍa* 7
4. *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* (the *seṭṭi* of the locality) 10

5. Warriors who protect merchants

1. *aṅkaru* (fighter) 1
2. *aṅkakāṟaru* (fighter) 2
3. *bhalluṅkidaṇḍa-hastar* (?) 6
4. *bīraru* (*vīrar*) (warrior) 10
5. *birudaru* (same as *bīraru*) 1
6. *eṟi-vīrar* (lancer) 2
7. *jayapālar* (the victorious men) 1
8. *kaikkōḷar* (the Kaikkōḷa warrior) 2
9. *kaṇḍaḻi* (?) 1
10. *koṅgavāḷār*(-700) (the swordsmen of Koṅgu) 4
11. *koṟṟakkuḍai-paṉmai-300* (the three-hundred victorious men) 4
12. *māvēttugaḷ* (elephant tamers ?) 1
13. *muṉai/muṉai-vīrar* (warrior of the battlefield) 6
14. *pāvāḍai-vīraṉ* (an honoured warrior) 1

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15. *pala-niyāyam* (different soldiers) 1
16. *siṅgam* (*iḷañchiṅga-vīrar*) (the 'lions') 2
17. *siṟupuli* (the 'tigers') 1
18. *vāḷvīran* (swordsman) 1
19. *valaṅgai* (*valattukkai*) (the Right Hand group) 4
20. *vēḷakāṟaru* (the dedicated warriors) 1
21. *vīrakoḍiyār* (warriors with the victorious banner) 10

6. Organization of foreign merchants

1. *añjuvaṇṇam* (the guild of foreign/Muslim merchants) 5
2. *paradēśi* (foreign merchant) 3

7. Local shop-keepers

1. *āvaṇakkāṟar* (shopkeeper) 4
2. *aṅgaḍi* (shopkeeper) 2
3. *uḷpasumbaikkāṟaṉ* (merchant with sack) 3
4. *āriyar* 1
5. *aisar* 1
6. *bachcharu* 1
7. *billa-300* 1
8. *sāmanta-paṇḍasāli* 1

8. Artisans including jewellers

1. *akkasāle* (goldsmith) 3
2. *baḷegāṟaru* (bangle merchant) 1
3. *chinnageyikada-byavahārigaḷu* (gold jeweller) 1
4. *kumbārar* (potter) 1
5. *mālagāra-nālvattokkalu* (florist) 1
6. *gaṁdhigaru* (perfume seller) 1

9. Writers and messengers

1. *bārika* (*vāriyaṉ*) (writer) 8
2. *ōlai-vāriyaṉ* (writer) 1
3. *ōṭṭaṉ* (messenger) 1
4. *sēnābhōvaru* (writer) 1
5. *taragar* (broker) 1

10. Servant groups

1. *chāmuṇḍēśvari* 1
2. *kalaṉai* (servant groups) 2
3. *paṇichey(chai)-makkaḷ* (servant groups) 3
4. *ulagaṉ* 1

These are extracted from a variety of inscriptions and we have to consider here examples of their way of appearing in an inscription. The Samuttirapatti inscription quoted above, for example, enumerates them as follows in its eulogy part. The number in parentheses indicates the group category given above.

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- *cheṭṭi* (1)
- *cheṭṭiputraṉ* (1)
- *kavaṟai* (1)
- *kāttarivaṉ* (3)
- *kāmuṇḍa suvāmi* (2)
- *koṟṟakkuṭai panmai muṉṉūṟṟuvar* (5)
- *koṅkavāḷ ḷeḷunūṟ* (5)
- *aṅkakāṟaṉ* (5)
- *āvaṇakkāṟaṉ* (7)
- *ulakaṉ* (10)
- *uḷpasumbaik kāṟaṉ* (7)
- *vāriyan* (9)

After the eulogy, this inscription, which records the conferment of the name *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* on the town, where the warriors and merchants live, in appreciation of the brave deed of the warriors, enumerates the actual warrior groups who fought for the merchants and their associate groups. They are:

- *nāṭṭucheṭṭigaḷ* (4)
- *tichai-cheṭṭigaḷ* (?)
- *padiṉeṇbūmi paṇaichai-makkaḷ* (10)

They are referred to as 'our (*ainūṟṟuvar*'s) sons' (*nammakkaḷ*) signifying their lower or servicing status. The *ainūṟṟuvar* is specified as *padineṇbūmi nānādēsi ainūṟṟuvar* and also as Paniyanāṭṭu *ainūṟṟuvar*, indicating that the resolution was made in the assembly of the merchants of the locality (Paniyānāḍu), which is related to the broader organization.

Viharehinna inscription in Sri Lanka, which also records the conferment of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam*, gives us the following groups in the eulogy part:

- *tāvaḷattuch-cheṭṭi* (3)
- *cheṭṭi-puttiraṉ* (1)
- *kavaṟai* (1)
- *kātripaṉ* (3)
- *kāmuṇḍa-svāmi* (2)
- *ōṭṭaṉ* (9)
- *uḷpasumbaikkāṟaṉ* (7)
- *aṅgakāṟaṉ* (5)
- *āvaṇakkāṟaṉ* (7)
- *pāvāḍai-vīraṉ* (5)

Afterwards, it gives the names of the following two groups:

- *padiṉeṇbūmi-vīrar* (5)
- *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* (4)

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Actually the *padiṉeṇbūmi-vīrar* is the chief figure in this inscription and they speak in this inscription in the first person plural. In appreciation of the honour which the merchant organization (*vīravaḷañjeyar/ainūṟṟuvar*) gave them, namely, the conferment of the name of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* on the town, they decided to reciprocate it by relinquishing some dues they are entitled to take in the town, together with the *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi*, whom they regard as their brothers. In this inscription the word *ainūṟṟuvar* does not appear. Instead, the word *vīravaḷañjeyar* appear in the portion where *ainūṟṟuvar* is usually found in the eulogy of the *ainūṟṟuvar*, which indicates that they are synonymous.

Bedkihal inscription in Belgaum District, Karnataka, which does not record the conferment of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam*, but records the honour given by merchants to a warrior who killed the enemies of the merchants, enumerates the groups as follows:

- *eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvar* (1)
- *ainūrbba svāmigaḷ* (1)
- *seṭṭimuttar* (1)
- *gāvuṇḍa sāmi* (2)
- *bīran* (5)
- *aṅkakāṟan* (5)
- *bārikan* (9)

This enumeration is given at the end of the inscription and makes *eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvar* representative of the groups which follow it by inserting a word *agiya* (*alias*) in between *eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvar* and other groups.

The first noticeable point while examining the groups of these three inscriptions may be the similarity in the groups appearing in the inscriptions of different regions. The inscriptions of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, which record the conferment of *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam*, show more similarity. Samuttirapatti inscription gives the name of fifteen groups and Viharehinna inscription twelve. Among these, seven are common. In the case of Bedkihal inscription, which records the matter in somewhat different way, gives us seven groups, and three of them are common with both the above inscriptions and one with Samuttirapatti inscription. Moreover, if we look at the matter from the angle of the category of those groups involved, all the three inscriptions show a similarity in that they are well represented by various categories of groups. *Eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvar* (the Sixteen people of the Eight nāḍu) who took the initiative in the assembly in Bedkihal inscription seems to be an organization peculiar to Karnataka.

The second point is the stratification seen among these groups, as indicated by the word 'our sons' appearing in Samuttirapatti inscription. The 'sons' in that inscription are *nāṭṭucheṭṭigaḷ* (4), *tichai-cheṭṭigaḷ* (3?) and *padiṉeṇbūmi paṇichai-makkaḷ* (10). Though the word 'our sons' is not given to *padiṉeṇbūmi-vīrar* (5) and *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* (4) in Viharehinna inscription, they also seem to

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have been regarded as such. In Barus inscription in Sumatra a certain *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* is addressed to as 'our son'. *Aṟupattunāṉku-muṉai* (5) and muṉai-virakōdiyar (5) in Sarcar Periyapalaiyam inscription in Coimbatore District, and muṉai (5) and muṉai-vīrakōḍiyār (5) in Sarcar Periyapalaiyam inscription in Coimbatore District are described as 'our sons'. These lower-category groups seem to have been composed of mostly warrior groups.

Now we shall turn our attention to the inscriptions recording the grant of *paṭṭana-pagudi* and examine the groups involved in such activities. First, the groups given in Miraj inscription (Sholapur District, Maharashtra, dated to 1142) run as follows:

- *eṁṭu-nāḍa-padinaṟuvar* (1)
- *gavaṟegar* (1)
- *gātrigar* (3)
- *seṭṭiyar* (1)
- *seṭṭi-guttar* (1)
- *bachchar* (7)
- *baḷegāṟar* (8)
- *gaṁdhigar* (8)
- *gāvuṇḍar* (2)
- *gāvuṇḍa-svāmigaḷ* (2)
- *arasugaḷ* (2)
- *arasu-makkaḷ* (2)
- *aṅkarum* (5)
- *aṅka-meṟevar* (5)
- *bī[rar]* (5)
- *bīra-vaṇigar* (4)
- *bārikar* (9)
- *bārika-jana-hastar* (9)
- *sāsira-ēl̤nūṟu gavaṟegaḷ* (3)

These are summed up at the end as *aiññūṟṟuvar-svāmigaḷ*, and afterwards the actual two groups of the locality, which decided the grant are given as follows.

- *bhalluṅki-daṇḍa-hastar* (5)
- *mummuridaṇḍam* (4)

They are again followed by the names of individual members of the different groups which are said to be led (*mukhya*) by *bhalluṅki-daṇḍa-hastar* and *mummuridaṇḍam*. Those groups are as follows.

- *seṭṭi* (1)
- *mummuri-daṇḍa* (4)
- *seṭṭi-gutta* (1)
- *taḷa [seṭṭi]* (3)
- *sēṇigar* (3)
- *kumbārar* (8)
- *akkasāle* (8)

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It is a bit strange that Seṭṭis appear here, since they appear in most of the inscriptions in the beginning of the groups enumerated. It may indicate, however, that *bhalluṅki-daṇḍa-hastar* and *mummuridaṇḍam* took the initiative in this granting of *paṭṭana-pagudi* involving Seṭṭis and other groups.

From Tamil Nadu we shall quote from the Sarkar Periyapalaiyam inscription (Coimbatore District). The groups involved in *paṭṭana-pagudi* grants are as follows.

- *cheṭṭi* (1)
- *cheṭṭi-vīraputtirarargaḷ* (1)
- *malaimaṇḍalattu pala nagaraṅgaḷ* (1)

They are summed up as *ainūṟṟuvar* who assembled as *padineṇ-vishayam-peruniraviyār* and also as *aiññūṟṟuvaṉ-peruniraviyār*. After this, four more groups are enumerated as assembled together in that assembly. They are:

- *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* (4)
- *taḷam-cheṭṭigaḷ* (3)
- *aṟupattunāṉku-muṉai* (5)
- *muṉai-vīrakoḍiyār* (5)

The latter two are grouped and mentioned as *nammakkaḷ* (our sons) indicating clearly their subordinate status, though all the four seem to have been lower in their status than those enumerated above.

We shall give here another example of *paṭṭana-pagudi* groups from Tamil Nadu. They are given in the Kovilpatti inscription (Tiruchirapalli District) as follows.

- *nāṭṭuchcheṭṭikaḷ*
- *taḷachcheṭṭikaḷ*

These two follow the *ainūṟṟuvar* in enumeration and are followed in their turn by their 'sons' (*nammakkaḷ*). They are:

- *muṉai* (5)
- *muṉaivīrakoḍiyār* (5)

After mentioning their decision of the grant, it gives the name of four *nagarattār* of the nearby locality, as follows.

- *ollaiyūr kūṟṟattu chuntaracōḻa puramāṉa tēchiyukanta paṭṭiṉattu nakarattōmum*
- *koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu nakarattōmum*
- *teliṅkakulakāla puramāṉā kulōttuṅkacōḻa paṭṭiṉattu nakarattōmum*
- *koṉṟaiyūrāṉa uttamacōḻa purattu nakarattōmum*

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Then it describes the *paṭṭana-pagudi* with the name of merchandise and the rate of their contribution based on sale.

Of the three *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions examined above, the two Tamil Nadu inscriptions show much similarity in the composition of the groups involved. *Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi* and *taḷa-cheṭṭi*, *nagarattār* and *munai-vīrakoḍiyār* appear in both. The composition of the groups is rather similar also in other inscriptions in Tamil Nadu such as at Anbil, Piranmalai, etc. In contrast to the small number of groups in Tamil Nadu, Miraj and other inscriptions in Karnataka give us several groups, the composition of which is rather similar to that seen in *eṟi-vīrapaṭṭinam* inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. This difference between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka seems to relate to the more conspicuous involvement of *nagarams* in the Tamil Nadu inscriptions compared to the Karnataka inscriptions, as we shall see later. However, this point needs further study.

A more conspicuous difference between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka is the non-appearance of *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi* in Karanataka inscriptions and the absence of *bhalluṅki-daṇḍa-hastar* and *mummuridaṇḍam* in Tamil Nadu inscriptions. Since these are the groups which took leadership in *paṭṭana-pagudi* transactions in each region, we may presume that they are similar and counterparts to each other in the two regions. *Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s seem to be different from *cheṭṭi*s and appear as warriors in Tamil inscriptions. Their position seems to have been in the middle between the *cheṭṭi* mercants and warriors. The word *daṇḍa* of *bhalluṅki-daṇḍa-hastar* and *mummuridaṇḍam*, which means a weapon, may suggest their association with warriors, and hence their identification with *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s in Tamil Nadu. The warrior groups who were real fighters seem to have been *vīrar, vīrakoḍiyār, muṉai, muṉai-vīran*, etc. in Tamil Nadu and their counterparts in Karnataka were *aṅkaru, aṅka-kāṟar*, and *bīrar*.

The Sarkar Periyapalaiyam inscription mentions *malaimaṇḍalattu-pala-nagaraṅgaḷ* (several *nagarams* of Kerala) and Kovilpatti inscription enumerates the name of four *nagarams* of the eastern coast. The well known Piranmalai inscription in Ramanathapuram District, Tamil Nadu, records the involvement in the *paṭṭana-pagudi* grant of some sixteen *nagarams* scattered in the districts of Ramanathapuram, Pudukkottai, Tiruchirapalli and Coimbatore. Though this involvement of *nagarams* is not so conspicuously seen in Karnataka, Managoli inscription in Bijapur District employs the word *nagaram* as an assembled body of contributing groups including *hēṟuva-seṭṭi* and *sāliga-samayaṁgaḷ*. In Belagami inscription in Shimoga District also we find the word *nagaram* represented by some individual *seṭṭi*s. This difference between the two regions in the way of the appearing of *nagaram* will be discussed later.

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Ainūṟṟuvar

Lastly, we shall discuss the problem of *ainūṟṟuvar* itself, and try to define *ainūṟṟuvar*. First we have to examine the way in which it appears in inscriptions along with other groups which we have examined above as component groups. It often comes in the beginning of enumeration of the groups. For example, in Managoli inscription (Bijapur District) it appears just before the enumeration of *eṁṭu-nāḍa-padinaṟuvar*, *gavaṟegaḷ* and *mummuridaṇḍamu*, in Kolhapur inscription (Kolhapur District) in the beginning of the enumeration of the eight groups starting with *gavaṟeyaru* and several individual *seṭṭi*s, in Nattam inscription (Madurai District) in the beginning of the groups, *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s, *taṉma-cheṭṭi*s and *vīrakoḍiyār*, and in Kovilpatti inscription (Tiruchirapalli District) before the enumeration of the groups of *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s, *taḷa-cheṭṭi*s, *muṉai* and *vīrakoḍiyar*, and several *nagarams*.

In some cases, however, it comes at the end of the enumeration meaning that all the foregoing groups are included in it, like in Hirahadagalli inscription (Bellary District) which gives the name of seven groups starting with *gavaṟegaru* and concludes at the end with *ainūṟṟuvar*. It is clear, therefore, that in these cases it is referred to as an overarching organization of all the groups enumerated after or before it. The groups enumerated after or before it start often with *seṭṭi* or *kavaṟai* in Tamil inscriptions and with *eṁṭu-nāḍa-padinaṟuvar* or *gavaṟeyar* in Karanataka inscriptions.[6] They end in inscriptions of both the regions with one of the groups we classified as warrior category or servant category. It is important to notice here that each of the groups, which are enumerated as a sort of set, has some substance and can be defined by profession, community, size, or locality. In contrast, the *ainūṟṟuvar* cannot be defined in the same way as the enumerated groups are defined. We can say that *ainūṟṟuvar* is an overarching merchant organization covering a wider area and various communities, often including artisans also.

If we continue our examination of the way in which the term *ainūṟṟuvar* appears in inscription, there are some cases in which it appears with some other groups in the beginning of the enumeration of the groups. For example, in Belagami inscription it appears together with *mummuridaṇḍa* before the enumeration of the groups starting with *eṁṭu-nāḍa-padinaṟuvar*, in Holal inscription it appears together with *eṁṭunāḍa-padinaṟuvar* at the end of the enumeration of the groups starting with *gavaṟeyar*, and in Miraj inscription it appears together with *balluṁkidaṇḍahastar* and *mummuridaṇḍa* in the concluding part of the groups which start with *eṁṭu-nāḍa-padinaṟuvar*. In these cases the companion of *ainūṟṟuvar* is a local organization, which has substance and is otherwise included in the groups enumerated after or before the *ainūṟṟuvar*. This indicates that a particular local group or groups took the initiative in the transaction described in the inscription with the help of,

[6] From this we may say that the 'sixteen of the eight *nāḍu*' is the counterpart of *seṭṭi*s in Tamil Nadu and that that body was probably a *seṭṭi* organization.

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or in the name of the *ainūṟṟuvar*.

There are some examples, however, in which the *ainūṟṟuvar* appears together with big organizations such as *padineṇ-vishayam*, *nānādēsi*, *nagaram*, *maṇigrāmam*, and *añjuvaṇṇam*, which complicates the matter and makes our understanding or definition of *ainūṟṟuvar* difficult. First, we shall see the case of *padineṇ-vishayam*. The famous Piranmalai inscription enumerates after the eulogy of *ainūṟṟuvar* certain number of groups. At the end, however, it gives the names of *padineṇ-vishayam* and *ainūṟṟuvar* together in the first person plural. From the context of this inscription we have to take *padineṇ-vishayam* as synonymous with *ainūṟṟuvar*. This may be clear from the statement of the temple accountant at the end of the inscription that he wrote this document by the order of *padineṇ-vishayam*, though this inscription is definitely an inscription of the *ainūṟṟuvar*, having the *ainūṟṟuvar*'s eulogy and mentioning *ainūṟṟuvar* in the first person singular. Another example is found in Tittandatanapuram inscription, which give mention of *añjuvaṇṇnam-maṇigramattōm* and *padineṇ-vishyattōm*. After an intevening sentence, *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigrāmattōm* is repeated just before the enumeration of some ten merchant groups. We have to conclude from this that the chief figure in this inscription is *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigrāmattōm*, which led or brought together the enumerated groups, though we are not sure whether it is one body or two bodies here. In this case, therefore, *padineṇ-vishayam* is just a repetition of *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigrāmam*, giving a wider connotation of *ainūṟṟuvar* to the enumerated groups. Our tentative conclusion is that *padineṇ-vishayam* or *padineṇbhūmi* is often used as a substitute of *ainūṟṟuvar*, which is an overarching organization, probably to show a wider area of their activities.

In contrast to the *ainūṟṟuvar* and *padineṇ-vishayam*, *añjuvaṇṇam* and *maṇigrāmam* are the organizations which can be defined to some extent in terms of profession, community, locality, etc. *Añjuvaṇṇam* is usually interpreted by many scholars as the organization of foreign merchants who were Jews, Christians or Muslims, on the basis of the evidence given in the inscriptions of Kollam and other places in Kerala[7], and we also subscribe to this interpretation. In Vishakapatnam we have three inscriptions[8] which refer to a member of *añjuvaṇṇam* who, coming from Mātōṭṭam (Māntai) in Sri Lanka, seems to have constructed a *paḷḷi* (most probably a mosque) called as Anyūṭṭuva-perumballi (in Telugu) or have done something good to that *paḷḷi*. The *paḷḷi* has the name of *ainūṟṟuvar* as its component and the *nagaram* of Vishakapatnam and the ruling king gave some privileges to him in appreciation of what he did for the *paḷḷi*. The close relation of *añjuvaṇṇam* with *ainūṟṟuvar*

[7] Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, pp. 24ff.

[8] Appendix 2, no. 12(1-3). See also Y. Subbarayalu, 'Añjuvaṇṇam, a Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times', *Kaveri: Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History (Professor Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume)*, ed. S. Rajagopal, Panpattu Veliyiittakam, Chennai, 2001, pp. 144–52.

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is clear from these inscriptions. The definition of *maṇigrāmam* is more difficult, but it seems to have been a more specified or closed organization whose activities are carried out basically in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, particularly in the Pudukottai area in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the later centuries, we have a few references to it in Kovilpatti and Piranmalai inscriptions. In the former the accountant who signed the document of the assembly is stated to be the accountant of Kodumbalur *maṇigrāmam nagaram*. Kodumbalur was the centre of this organization.

Nānādēsi, another big organization of merchants, seems to be similar to *padineṇ-vishayam* and has been used as a synonym of *ainūṟṟuvar*. In Belagami inscription *nānādēsi-byavahārigaḷ* appears in the beginning together with *mummuri-daṇḍa*, but in the following portion only *ainūṟṟuvar* appears as the prominent figure. Since the real initiative seems to have been taken by *mummuri-daṇḍa* in the transaction in this inscription, we have to say that *nānādēsi-byavahāri* in the beginning is the same as *ainūṟṟuvar* and is therefore referred to as *ainūṟṟuvar* in the later portion. In Terdal inscription *ainūṟṟuvar* appearing in the beginning of the eulogy is replaced afterwards by *nānādēsi* just before the enumeration of the groups starting with *gavaṟe*, which clearly indicates that these two are synonymous in this case. It seems that people some time prefer the word *nānādēsi* to indicate the wider area. In a Kurugodu (Bellary District) inscription are mentioned merchants belonging to the *nānādēsi* of *lāḍa* (Gujarat), *chōḻa* (Tamil Nadu), *maleyāḷa* (Kerala), *teluṅga* (Andhra) and *karnāṭa* (Karnataka). The word *padineṇ-vishayam* also must have been employed for the indication of the wide area of the activities of the *ainūṟṟuvar*. Actually the terms *padineṇbūmi* and *nānādēsi* appear as attributes qualifying *ainūṟṟuvar* in the Samuttirapatti inscription.

The relation of *ainūṟṟuvar* with *nagaram* is a bit precarious. According to K.R. Hall who studied *nagaram*, it is the place where local merchants and other professional people could cooperate with the itinerant merchants who come and go. *Nagaram* has been understood by many scholars including Hall that it is basically the organization or assembly of various merchants living in a town. However, Managoli inscription casts a doubt to such understanding, as *nagaraṅgaḷ* (plural) appears together with *taḷada-seṭṭiyar* in a portion of the inscription and afterwards it is specified as *gātrigaru*, *hēṟuva-seṭṭiyar*, *telliga-gottaḷigaḷu*, *sāliga-samayam*, *dēvara-kottaḷigaḷ*, *sēṇiga-gottaḷigaḷ*, *billamunnūruvaru* and *mēdar-okkal*. In this case we have to take the word *nagaram* as representing a group of merchants who are specially dealing with some particular merchandise such as betel-leaf, oil, fruit, etc.

In the Piranmalai and Kovilpatti inscriptions, we find mention of a number of *nagarams* which represent each one town in different localities. Though Piranmalai inscription states that there are twelve *nagarams* in Jayaṅkoṇḍachōḻapuram, the impression that we get from the enumeration of *nagarams* in these two late (thirteenth century) inscriptions of Tamil Nadu, is that a town has one *nagaram* which is composed of various merchants. This

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point should be clarified in future studies. It is clear from the context of the inscription, however, that the *ainūṟṟuvar* appearing in the earlier part of these inscriptions are actually those *nagarattār* specifically mentioned in the later part indicating that the *nagarattār* made a transaction in the name of *aiñ̃ñūṟṟuvar*.

Valikandapuram (Tiruchirappalli District) inscription in Tamil Nadu, in which *nagarattār* appear, gives us two interesting points. First, the *nagarattār* specify themselves as oil merchants (*vāṇiya nagarattār*). This supports the argument that each specified merchant group has its own *nagaram*. Secondly, the *vāṇiya-nagarattār* of Āṟagaḷūr define themselves as a subordinate organization of the *padineṇbhūmi-vāṇiya-nagarattār*, claiming thereby their association with the *ainūṟṟuvar*. Whichever the case it may be, whether *nagarattār* represents a variety of merchants of a town or only a specific merchant group in a town, it is clear from the evidence in the Valikandapuram inscription and others that *nagaram*, merchant organization in a town, is also part of the *ainūṟṟuvar*.

From the foregoing discussion, we may conclude that the *ainūṟṟuvar*, otherwise known as *padineṇ-vishayam/padineṇ-bhūmi* or *nānādēsi*, is a concept of the merchant organization which overarches all the substantial merchant organizations formed in some particular area, locality or town. The appearing of their eulogy in the tenth century indicates that this concept was formed around that time. The eleventh century in south India witnessed the economic growth which took place in many areas. Kerala may be an exception, as it was exposed still earlier to the foreign trade which gained strength from the eighth century by the coming of Jewish, Christian and Muslim merchants, who established their organization called *añjuvaṇṇam*. The eleventh century coincides with the growth of power by Chāḷukyas and Chōḻas, who encouraged the development of agriculture as well as trade in their territories. Many *nagarams* began to appear inland and *paṭṭinams* were formed on the coast. This economic growth accelerated by the Chāḷukyan and Chōḻa kings encouraged the merchants and made them feel the necessity of establishing a network for their activities. Seṭṭis who had already established in many areas must have taken leadership in forming this wider network. That must be the reason of the creation of the concept of an overarching organization of the merchants.

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Copper Plates from Bedkihal, Karnataka

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10

Paṭṭaṇappagudi: A Voluntary Impost of the Trade Guilds

P. Shanmugam

The inscriptions of the 11th–16th centuries in south India refer to the imposition of certain voluntary levies by trade guilds. Those imposts, levied on the merchandise marketed by several members of the guild, were decided in a meeting of the representatives or heads(?) of the guild. The voluntary impost was denoted in the Tamil inscriptions of the 11th century as *makamai* (other variants are *makaḷmai*, *makaṉmai*).[1] The above terms were included in the list of taxes exempted, without any additional information with regard either to the rate of the levy or to the commodities marketed. Many inscriptions also record a similar impost of the guild on the mercandise marketed by the members of the guild without referring to it as *makamai*.[2] The impost was mostly levied for a religious purpose. The transaction of the guild was referred to as *danma samaya kāriyam* ('charitable act of the guild assembly')[3], since it was decided in a big meeting of the guild. Inscriptions of the 12th century also record the grant of *makamai* by the *chitramēḻiperiyanāṭṭār*,[4], besides the trade guilds.

From the 12th century onwards, the voluntary levy of the trade guilds was also denoted by the term *paṭṭaṇappagudi*. An analysis of the contexts of this term in the inscriptions is taken up here. The second component of the term, 'pagudi' means share or portion and hence the term *paṭṭaṇappagudi* may literally be translated as 'the share of the *paṭṭaṇa* or town'[5] In the Andhra

[1] *SII*, VI, 457; *SII*, XVII, 141–42; *SII*, VII, 21.

[2] *SII*, VIII, 291, 1168, Tittagudi.

[3] *SII*, VI, 40. (Mannargudi); K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer: 'Largest Provincial Organisations in Ancient India', Reprint from Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, (new series), vol. 45–46*, nd., p. 9.

[4] *SII*, VIII, 291 (Tittagudi); *SII*, VII, 129 (Tirukkoyilur).

[5] R.Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 219–220.

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and Karnataka regions similar impost levied on the members of the trade guild was denoted as *āyam* or *dharmāyam* and only rarely as *paṭṭaṇappagudi*. Since the method and purpose of those transactions are similar to the *paṭṭaṇappagudi* of the Tamil area, those transactions are also included in the study.

From a study of the inscriptions listed below, it is seen that in the levying of *paṭṭaṇappagudi* the involvement of the king or of his local representative is completely absent. The impost was not initiated or imposed by the king or by his orders. The *praśasti* of the ruling king was not generally included in these inscriptions, and even if it is there, as in the Kannada inscriptions, the king's order is found mentioned in a separate section of the record and has nothing to do with the levy of the trade guild. Further the royal officers are also not involved in any of these transactions. It is therefore very clear that the levy was decided wholly by the members of the guild and they alone are responsible to the agreement. Therefore the imposts should be considered as a voluntary activity of the trade guilds. Again, only the functionaries or the representatives of the guild were involved in the collection of the levy and in no way the services of the king's officers were utilised.

Another aspect that becomes very clear is the purpose for which the *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was granted by the guild. In most of the cases the temples received the money or commodity from the members of the guild. The purposes mentioned are for conducting festivals and services in the temple. In some instances the income from the levy was utilised for the establishment of a temple garden or for the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in the temple and sometimes to execute some repairs to temples.

In the fixing of the *paṭṭaṇappagudi*, the *patineṇvishaiyam* was very much involved, in almost all the inscriptions under study. Together with the *patineṇvishaiyam* the members of the *nagaram* of the different localities also participated. Thus we come across the *nālu-nagaram* (Sinnamanur), *nagarams* of Malaimaṇḍalam (Sarkar Periyapalayam), *nagaram* of 18-*rājyam* (Sinnamanur), and *nagaram* of Vaiśya-vāṇiyar (Danayakkankottai).

Among the *cheṭṭi*s the *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi*s and *taḷach-cheṭṭi*s are mentioned in the inscriptions of Sarkar Periyapalayam, Kovilpatti, and Sinnamanur. They are to be understood as the *cheṭṭi* merchants of the locality. The *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi*s could be identified with the *cheṭṭi*s of the local *nāḍu* and the *taḷach-cheṭṭi* could be identified with the *cheṭṭi*s of a small area. The Sinnamanur inscription mentions *chōṇāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi*s (perhaps *cheṭṭi*s from the Chōḻa country). The *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi* and *taḷach-cheṭṭi* seem to be subordinate members of the guild.

Several other groups represented in the Sarkar Periyapalayam and Kovilpatti inscriptions, such as *aṟupattunānku-munai*, *munai* and *munaivīrakoḍiyār* are to be classified as warrior groups occupying a subordinate status than the *nāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi*s and *taḷach-cheṭṭi*s mentioned earlier.[6] The participa-

[6] For a discussion on this aspect, see Chapter 9.

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tion of the *chitramēḻip-periyanāṭṭār* is mentioned in the Kovilpatti inscription only. The Danayakkankottai inscription refers as the main body to the *vaisiya-vāṇiya-nagarattār*, otherwise called as *danma-tāvaḷar* in the place of the *patineṇvishaiyam*.

By studying the participation of guilds and the associated members we may understand the areas covered under the impost. In the case of Sinnamanur-1, the control area of the impost seems to be limited to a small area represented by Kīḻaivaṭṭai and Nālunagaram and the impost was levied on two commodities, namely arecanut and pepper, brought and sold in the local market. In the case of Sinnamanur-2, the control area was Kīḻaivaṭṭagai and Uttamachōḻapuram. The *paṇṭasālai* (stores/markets) in the Nāḍu was another area marked for the impost of the *paṭṭaṇappagudi*. The Samalapuram record however suggests a large contol area denoted by 18-Maṇḍalams. Though we could not precisely mark the area of 18-Maṇḍalams, we may suggest that the commodities transported into and sold in a big area were subjected to the impost. Though *patineṇvishaiyam* was the only guild involved, the levy covered as many as 15 commodities. From the list of signatories from the Sarkar Periyapalayam record, it is clear that some 64 members were present at the time of taking the decision. Those members who attended the meeting were from different market towns belonging to Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam and the Chōḻa country.

In Karnataka the evidence relating to *paṭṭaṇappagudi* comes from the inscriptions belonging to the 12th century. Apart from the *ainuṟṟuvar* or *ayyāvoḷe*, many other guilds and members of the merchant communities took part in the levying of the impost. The *seṭṭis* mentioned in the Kolhapur, Miraj, and Belagami inscriptions and *seṭṭiguttar* mentioned in the Kolhapur, and Dharwar inscriptions seem to have represented the mercantile centres from different regions. The members of the guilds like *gātris*, *gavaṟes* and the oil mongers were also involved in the transaction along with the *seṭṭis* and others. The *bīrar*, and *bira vaṇigar* of Kolhapur and the *balluṅkidaṇḍa-hastar* and *mummuridaṇḍam* of Miraj constituted the military groups of the guild and are considered as counterparts of the Tamil area's *munaivīrar*, *vīrakoḍi*, etc.[7]

The commodities on which imposts were levied show a variety. It involved both commodities of daily use and luxury items. They certainly indicate the amount of trade in the commodities and movement from one area to the other. Simple agrarian products like eighteen kinds of cereals, paddy (*nel*), and rice (*arisi*) figure frequently in the transactions. Millets (*sāmai*, *varaku*, *rāgi*, *bajra*), grass (*pul*), and pulses (*avarai, kaḍalai, uḻundu, payaṟu, tuvarai*, and *koḷḷu*) were the other commodities sold. Among the oil seeds the coconuts, castor seeds (*āmaṇakku*), sesamum, and mustard (*kaḍugu*) were the commodities sold by the members of the guild. Betel leaves was another commodity traded

[7]See Chapter 9.

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in the markets. Other agricultural products like green ginger, dry ginger, turmeric, garlic, and cumin were also sold in shops. Clarified butter, jaggary, vegetables, tamarind (*puḷi*), salt , honey, wax (*meḻuku*), wood, flowers, herbs, and drugs were also sold by them.

The most important agrarian product of great commercial value was pepper (*miḷaku*), which was sold in all markets. There were different varieties like the black pepper and long pepper. Another popular product of great value was arecanut (*pākku*), sold in different market places. Among the spices the myrabolans (*kaḍukkāy, nelli and tāṉṟi*), saffron, asefoetida, coriander, ginger and turmeric are found in several places.

Cotton (*parutti*) and its byproducts like yarn (*nul*), varieties of cloth (*nenpuṭavai, puṭavai*), different varieties of sarees (*viṭu-puṭavai, sēlai*) were the textile goods marketed by them. The silk and woollen materials were also sold by the members of the guild. The useful, domesticated animals like horses (*kutirai*), elephants.(*ānai*), camels (*oṭṭai*), cows (*pacu*), bull (*erudu*), buffaloe (*erumai*) and other cattle figure in several inscriptions among the merchandise. Aromatic articles traded were *agaru* (*akil*), musk (*kastūri*), sandal, camphor (*kaṟpūram*), roots, and *peruku*(?). Conch and ivory, gems, coral and pearls were the other valuable commodities. The metals merchandise included gold, copper (*chembu*), brass, and iron (*kambi*). These commercial goods were brought to the markets as head loads or on animals like donkey and bull, in packets and bags. Carts were also used to convey the commercial goods in the market place.

From the appended table showing area-wise distribution of the various merchandise, it may be observed that arecanuts and pepper were marketed in all the regions. In the markets of the Tamil country were sold a variety of cotton, silk and woollen cloth, whereas we notice a few other varieties in Karnataka. The sale of a variety of animals and cattle are noticed in Tamil markets, while they are rarely mentioned as a commodity in Karnataka. Gold was a precious commodity sold only in Karnataka, and not in the Tamil country.

List of the Select Paṭṭaṇappagudi Inscriptions

A. Tamil Nadu

1. Sinnamanur-1, (Madurai Dt.), *SII*, XXIII, 434. (AD 1276).

The impost of *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was agreed in a meeting of (1) *patineṇvishaiyam* and (2) *nālunagaram*. The *patineṇvishaiyam* consisted of members from the Kīḻaivaṭṭai and Nālunagaram. The income from the impost levied on arecanut (*pākku*) and pepper (*miḷaku*) was granted for the establishment of a temple garden and for its maintenance.

2. Sinnamanur-2, (Madurai Dt.), *SII*, XXIII, 430. (AD 1279).

The levy of *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was decided by the *patineṇvishaiyam* of

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Nālunagaram. The impost was to be collected from the marketing centre (*turai*) at Uttamachōḻapuram and to be utilised for the construction of western *gōpura* named after the guild. The same inscription also records another impost of *paṭṭaṇappagudi* by the *patineṇvishaiyam* from the *paṇṭasālai* (shops or stores) for the festival in the month of Mārgaḻi.

3. Sarkar Periyapalaiyam (Erode Dt.), Avanam, 6 (1995), pp. 36–40. (AD 1289).

After mentioning the conventional group of guild members comprising the 18 *paṭṭanams*, 32 *vēḷāpurams*, etc., a big assembly of the Five Hundred is said to have decided to contribute the income from the *paṭṭaṇappagudi* for the Vaikāsi festival in the local Siva temple. At the end of the document 64 members of the guild belonging to various places affix their signatures in approval of the decision.

4. Kovilpatti, (Tiruchirapalli Dt.), *ARE*, 1965, 286. (AD 1305).

The decision of imposing *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was taken by the *nagarattār* of some four towns. The income from imposts was granted to a Siva temple.

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5. Sinnamanur-3, (Madurai Dt.), *SII*, XXIII, 429. (AD 1309).

The income from the impost was granted to Rajasimhesvara temple. The following members of the mercantile guild were involved in making the grant: the *patineṇvishaiyam* (of Nālunagaram), the *patineṇvishaiyam* (of 18-rājyam), the *nagarams* (of 18-Rajyam), *nāṭṭuch-chèṭṭis*, and *taḷach-cheṭṭis*.

6. Sinnamanur-4, (Madurai Dt.), *SII*, XXIII, 431. (AD 1309).

The *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was decided by the following groups: the *patineṇvishaiyam*, the *patineṇvishaiyam* (of 18-maṇḍalam), *cheṭṭis* of Tiruchchōṇāḍu, and *taḷach-cheṭṭis*. The above members met in a meeting and decided to collect at the prescribed rates in the following areas: the *paṇḍasālai* of Arikēsarinallūr, the *paṇḍasālai* at Śṛivallavan-paḍaivīḍu, and another place (name lost). The collected amount is to be given to the local temple for conducting the festival in the month of Māsi.

7. Samalapuram, (Coimbatore Dt.), *ARE*. 1978, 237. (AD 1332).

The grant of *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was decided in the meeting of *patineṇvishaiyam* of 18-maṇḍalam on the goods moving in and out of the market area. The grant was made to the Vishṇu temple of Aruḷaḷanāthan for the festival in the month of Vaikāsi.

8. Danayakankottai, (Coimbatore Dt.), *SII*, 22, 442. (AD 1346).

The *paṭṭaṇappagudi* was granted to the temple for services and festivals by the following members of the guild: the *nagaram* of the *vaisya vāniyar*, otherwise called *danma-tāvaḷar*, the *nārpatteṇṇāyiravar*, *kaikkōḷar*, and *sāliyar*. The places covered in the agreement are listed as follows: Vallūr, Nellūr, Brahmapuri, Mayilāppūr, Kāñchi, Pūmpukār, Uṟaiyūr, Karuvūr, Paḻaiyāṟai, and Tenmadurāpuri, areas near the Perumāḷai hill, and the Kambaiyaru river and located in the Vaigunta valanadu.

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B. Karnataka

9. Kolhapur, (Kolhapur Dt.) *EI*, XIX, 4, pp. 30–35. (AD 1136). In a big assembly (*samastadēsam neradu*) represented by the members of the Ayyāvoḷe, the Five Hundred svamis, *gavares*, *gātriyas*, *seṭṭis*, *seṭṭiguttas*, *gāmuṇḍas*, *gāmuṇḍasvāmi*, *bīrar*, and *bīra vaṇigar*, the grant of income from *āyam* was made to a temple. Subsequently are listed thirteen *seṭṭis* from Kollāpura, Miriñje, Kundi, Torambage, Baleyavattana, Kavaḍegolla, and *seṭṭis* from some unidentified places.

10. Miraj, (Sangli Dt.) EI. XIX, 4, pp. 35–41. (AD 1143).

The inscription refers to the meeting of *Ainūruva svāmigaḷ*, *ballaṅkidaṇḍahastar*, *mummuridaṇḍam*, and the *seṭṭis* at Sēdambāḷ. They decided to grant the income accrued from imposts levied in the friday market (*sukravārada saṁte*) to the god Mādhavēśvara at Sēdambāḷ. Four *seṭṭis* are mentioned as representing the four districts, namely Piriyuguvara, Siriguppe, Juguluakoppa, and a fourth place (name lost). The other member representatives came from places like Mirinje, Bage, Donikōḍu, Tolakale, Kundili, and Sēdambāḷ.

11. Belagami, (Shimoga Dt.). *EC*, VII, Sk.118. (AD 1150).

The inscription states that the Five Hundred Ayyāvoḷe, some *seṭṭis* (Paṭṭanaseṭṭi, Mechi-seṭṭi, Kīrtti-seṭṭi), and Nagaram granted in a big assembly the imposts to the temple for the repairs and decorations to the god.

12. Kokatnur (Belaguam Dt.) *KI*, 2, pp. 129–37. (AD 1235).

The guild of oil pressers probably assembled together and granted to the temple the income from voluntary impost. Similarly the guilds of betel sellers and the basket makers met in an assembly and granted income from their voluntary impost to the deity Bhavasuddadar.

13. Dharwar (Dharwar Dt.). *SII*, XV, 232; *KI*, 5, 66. (AD 1206).

The inscription refers to a voluntary impost of paddy, oil, betel leaves, and money by the Seṭṭiguttas (of four *paṭṭanas*, namely Dāravāḍa, Narēndrapura, Tāḍakōḍu and Ammeyayabhāvi in Halasige-12,000, the *aynūruvar* and the *mummuridaṇḍas*, in the presence of the *mahājanas* of the place.

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Area-wise Distribution of the Merchandise in the Paṭṭaṇappagudi Inscriptions

	Places of the Inscriptions																								
Commodity	01[1]	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
agil (aloe)															#		#	#							
Arecanuts	#	#		#		#	#		#	#	#	#		#	#	#	#	#		#		#			#
Asefoetida		#													#	#	#						#		
Avarai																		#							
Baje(?)	#																								·
Beans															#										
Bengalgram																	#						#		
Betel leaves	#	#	#														#								
Bhadramuste (?)	#																								
Bhishop's Weed			#																						
Blackgram																	#								
Brass																							#		
Buffalo																	#	#			#				
Bull																	#	#							
Butter?																		#							
Camel																	#	#			#				
Camphor			#													#	#	#							#

[1] The numbers represent the inscriptions from the following places and dates (within brackets): 1. Kollapuram (1136); 2. Miraj -1143); 3. Belagami (1150); 4. Tiruppalanam (12th c.); 5. Valikandapuram (1207); 6. Kamarasavalli (1263); 7. Mannargudi (1267); 8. Mannargudi (1267); 9. Devipatnam (1270); 10. Sinnamanur (1275); 11. Sinnamanur-1 (1276); 12. Sinnamanur-2 (1279); 13. Mannargudi (1284); 14. Sarkar Periyapalayam (1289); 15. Piranmalai (13 c.); 16.Virińchipuram (13th c.); 17. Belur (1304); 18. Kovilpatti (1305); 19. Vadakurangaduturai (1307); 20. Mudigonda (1323); 21. Samalapuram (1332); 22. Danayakkankottai (1346); 23. Tuvarankurichchi (14th c.); 24. Kilakkarai (1531); 25. Taramangalam (1541).

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Camphor oil															#										
Cardamom			#																						
Castor seeds															#	#							#		#
Casuarina																									#
Cattle																		#							#
Cekkal														#											
Chevu																#						#			
Chemicals (?)																									#
Chichili (?)																									#
Civet														#	#	#	#								
Clarified butter	#	#																							
Cloth	#		#																	#					
Cloth—viduputavai														#											
Cloth—putavai								#	#					#	#			#	#		#	#	#		#
Cloth—fine															#								#		
Cloth—bleached																	#								.
Cloth—devagiri																	#								
Cloth—saree																					#				
Coconut																	#								
Common flax(agase)																	#								
Conch																		#							
Coral																									#
Coriander			#																						
Cotton	#	#																							
Cotton—raw															#	#							#		#

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Cotton—yarn														#	#		#			#	#	#	#		#
Cotton																#									
Cotton—blanket																	#								
Cotton—kīḻaḍai				#																					
Cotton—puṭavai				#		#				#						#									
Cow																		#			#				
Cumin seeds	#		#												#		#								
Drugs			#																						
Elephant														#	#	#	#								
Fenugrek																	#								
Flowers	#		#																						
Flowers—sada			#																						
Fruits																	#								
Fruits—dry	#																								
Fruits—fresh	#																								
Garlic	#																								
Gems																	#								
Ghee																	#								
Ginger—dry	#		#							#					#									#	
Ginger—green	#		#														#	#							
Goat																	#								
Gold	#		#			#																			
Grains																	#					#	#		
Grains—18 kinds	#	#												#											
Grass																	#	#							

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Greengram															#		#									
Gunny—kōṇi															#											
Hair(?)—savari mayir															#	#		#								
Herbs (?)																										#
Honey															#											
Horse														#	#	#	#	#			#	#				
Horsegram (kollu)																	#						#			
Hutes (?)	#																									
Iron				#											#											
Iron (kampi)																		#								
Iron(?)(salli,savaram)																										#
Ivory																		#								
Jaggery																#			#							
Jowar (chōḷam)																	#									
Karuncarakku (?)														#												
Kiḍā														#		#					#					
Kusube																	#									
Lime fruit																	#									
Malai (?)																		#								
Musk (Kasturi)			#											#			#	#								#
Mustard	#		#											#	#		#	#					#			
Myrabolans	#																									
Myrabolans—Kaḍukkāy															#											
Myrabolans—Nelli															#											
Myrabolans—tanri															#											

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navare																	#								
Nuts																	#								
Oil	#	#	#		#												#								
Ottil (?)		#																							
Paddy						#									#	#	#	#	#		#		#		
Palmayra leaves																	#								
Pearls			#																					#	#
Pepper				#		#		#	#	#	#	#	#		#	#		#	#	#	#	#	#		#
Pepper—black	#		#														#								
Pepper—long			#																						
Perfumes																	#								
Pottery	#																								
rāgi																	#								
Redgram (tuvarai)															#			#							
Rice				#		#						#			#	#	#	#	#				#		
Roots			#																						
Rose water															#										#
Sabbasige																	#								
Saffron			#							#							#								
Saffron—kungumam																#									
Salt	#														#	#	#	#		#		#	#		
samai—bajra																		#							
Sandal			#											#	#	#	#	#		#					#
Sāndu—fragrance															#		#								
save																	#								

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Sesamum															#	#	#								#
Sheep																	#								
Silk—cloth															#	#	#								
Silk—yarn																	#			#					#
Sugar			#																						
Sugarcane																	#								
Timber																	#								
Togari																	#								
Tottri—slaves																	#								
Turmeric (mañjaḷ)	#		#												#	#	#	#							
Vacampu (Acorus)																#									
varagu																	#	#							
Vegetables																	#								
Vellati (?)																									#
vidalu																	#								
Wax—meḻugu															#										
Woollen cloth—ulaṇḍuputavai															#			#							

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11

Symbols on the Inscribed Stones of the Merchant Guilds

S. Rajagopal

Various symbols were used to represent ideas and myths by people from ancient times all over the world and they are met with on seals, pottery, and other artifacts. The study of the symbols may bring out much useful information on the society and culture of the times to which those symbols belong. The inscribed stones of south India contain several symbols along with the writings and sometimes with portrait sculptures of some dead heroes. In the present paper the symbols found in the merchant guild inscriptions are taken up for study. The stones bearing these inscriptions come from some eight places in Tamil Nadu and two from Sri Lanka and belong to the period between 9th and 14th centuries AD. There seems to be a concentration of the inscribed stones with symbols in the Tiruchirappalli District.

The symbols are found at the top portion or the bottom of the inscribed stone, sometimes they are seen at both the places, skirting the inscription as it were. In some of them, the symbols are found on one side of the stone slab and the inscription on the other side. The symbols collected from all the available stones (Plates 9–10) relating to merchant guilds together could be classified into the following categories:

I. Figures of deities — Durga, Paramēśvari, Lakshmi, Tīrtṫkara.

II. Auspicious signs — water-pot (*pūrṇa kumbha*), bowl and tripod, fly-whisk, umbrella, conch, scepter, flag, sack or bag (*pasumbai*), wheel, trident, drum, trumpet.

III. Weapons — swords of several kinds, bill-hook, shield, lance, bow and arrow, pole, dagger, battle-axe, elephant goad.

IV. Implements of craftsmen — anvil, hammer, forge, pincers, tongs, nipper, chisel, scraper, fish-hook, and oil mill.

V. Agricultural implements — plough-share, yoke, and basket.

VI. Animals — elephant, lion, horse, donkey, monkey, snake, and swan.

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The details of the inscribed stones containing the above classified figures are given in the table below. For the pupose of comparison, a few other inscribed stones with symbols are also given in the table below, even though they do not refer to a merchant guild..

For understanding the significance of the symbols, a knowledge of the associated inscriptions is necessary. These inscriptions were put up for different purposes. A number of them is donative in character and records the contributions made by the guild members for a common charity in a temple. Another category of inscriptions is found to record the memorial stone set up in honour of certain warriors who gave up their life for the sake of the merchant guilds. Naturally the symbols should have some association with the merchant guilds and their warriors.

The favourite deities of the merchant guilds are very often met with on the inscribed stones. The deities were usually flanked by lamps on either side and there is an umbrella over the head. The sack or the hanging bag is also given equal prominence and depicted slightly below the umbrella. In this context, it may be noted that the eulogy of the Ayyāvoḷe merchant guild refers very often to the sanctity of the bag (*pasumbaiyē deyvamākavum*). Weapons and implements were sometimes treated in the same manner. In the earlier stage, the anvil and the plough-share were not found represented on inscribed stones of the merchant guild. Later they are also found included, perhaps due to the importance given to artisans and also due to the association of the landholding groups with the merchant guilds.

The reason for depicting the various figures on the inscribed stones must be that those figures were considered as having ritual significance by the people who put them. Even in the present times tridents, lances, bill-hooks, and clubs are planted in the premises of the temples of village deities like Kāḷi, Ayyaṉār, and Karuppaṉ. The festival *āyuda-pūja* is the survival of the same tradition. In the related rituals, the weapons are taken to represent symbolically the associated deities.[1] The inscriptions found in Sri Lanka also display symbols as in south India. Two of them are of some significance. One is that of Viharehinna and the other that of Budumuttava. The Viharehinna inscription is said to have been set up by the warrior community called *eṟivīrar* who were serving the Greatmen (*perumakkaḷ*) of the town of Tanmachākara-paṭṭiṇam. The symbols on this stone are the umbrella in the centre, and lamps on either side, the conch and fly-whisk. The Budumuttava inscription was set up by the *vīrakodi* , another warrior group employed by the Ainūṟṟuvar. In this the symbols are engraved at the bottom of the slab. It is interesting to find that there are figures of two varieties of swords, bow and arrow, javelin or spear, and knife. There is also the figure of a small drum (or anvil?) among the remaining symbols. Symbols of a similar kind but less in number are found on

[1] The traditional merchant families of the Ramanathapuram (Sivaganga) District still have the custom of offering worship to bill-hooks in their family temples.

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the inscribed slabs of the merchant guild from Vahalkada, Detiyamulla, and Galtenpitiya in Sri Lanka.

From the foregoing information, it may be suggested that an imortant purpose of the depiction of symbols was to show the linkages that had existed between the merchant guilds on the one hand and the warrior groups, artisans and other associated people on the other hand. The emphasis was mostly on the warrior communities.

Symbols Found on the Inscribed Stones of the Merchant Guild

No	Place & Reference	Symbols	Associated Group
1	Vadugappatti, Md Dt. (c.900); *Avanam*, 7, 9	II. whisk, umbrella[2]	*attāṇikaḷ, peruniravi, aṟuvai-vāṇigar .*
2	Melnangavaram Tp Dt. (c.1000); *Avanam*, 10, 10.	I. Durga, *śrīvatsan*; II. lamps, sack; III. horse whip, bill hook, sword, shield	vaḷañjiyar-500
3.	Idaimalaippatti-pudur, Tp Dt. (c.1000); *Varalaru*, 2, pp.28–29.	II. conch, sack; II. sword, bill-hook, elephant goad, axe, lancē VI. horse and man	kālamukkiyan *kuḻu* and *nāṭṭavar .*
4.	Kaliyampatti, Tp Dt. (c.1000); *Avanam*, 11, 9	II. trident, lamps, umbrella, sack, fly whisk; III. sword, bill-ook, sickle, bow and arrow, pole	*Aiyappoḻil-500 .*
5.	Nagainallur, Tp Dt. (c.1000); *Avanam*, 12, 9.	II. conch; III. swords, lance, pole, bill-hook, elephant goad, whip	*aimpeuṅguḻu* and Three Hundred
6.	Singalanta-puram, Tp Dt. (c.1100); *ARE*, 1943–44, 237.	II. trident, lamps, sack, conch, whisk, umbrellā III. swords, shield, elephant goad, bow and arrow, lance, bill-hook, coiled whip, pole	*vīrakoḍiyār*

[2] Most likely the symbols in this case are associated with the Jain Tīrttaṅakara depicted on the stone

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7.	Palamangalam, Erode Dt (c.1100); *Kalamagal Museum Guide*, 1981, p. 189.	II. umbrella, fly-whisk, moon, lamp, *pūrṇakumba*, conch on tripod, sack; III. *trisūla*, bill-hook, bow and arrow,sword, pole, elephant goad; Vi. horse	*500-nānādēsi*
8.	Budumuttava, Sri Lanka (c.1150); *Avanam*, 9, pp. 37–38.	III. sword, bill-hook, shield; IV. anvil	*vīrakoḍiyār*
9.	Viharehinna, Sri Lanka (c.1150); *Avanam*, 9, pp. 33–34.	II. umbrella, lamps, conch, fly-whisk	*patineṇbhūmi-vīrar*
10.	Polichalur, Kanchi Dt. (c.1300); *Avanam*, 10, 22.	II. lamps; III. sword; IV. anvil; V. plough-share	*ainūṟṟuvar*
11.	Elkamvalasu, Cb Dt. (c.1400); State Archaeology Museum, Coimbatore.	I. Durgā II. conch, whisk, umbrella, trident, hand drum, lamp; III. lance, sword, shield, whip, sickle, elephant goad, bow and arrow	*ainūṟṟuvar* and *nagaram*

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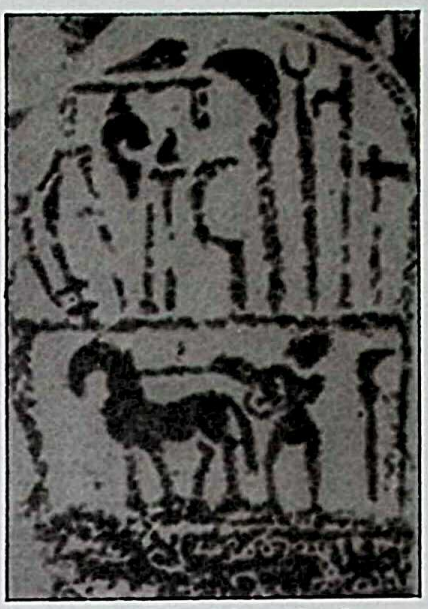
9.1. Melnangavaram



9.2. Idaimalaippattipudur

9.3. Kaliyampatti

9.4. Nagainallur

9.5. Singalantapuram

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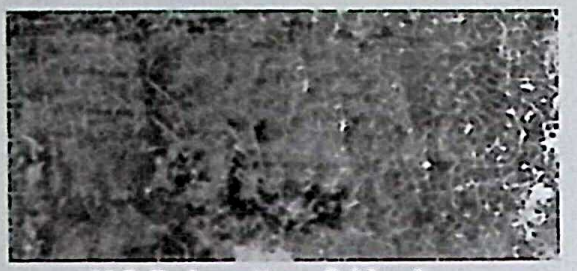
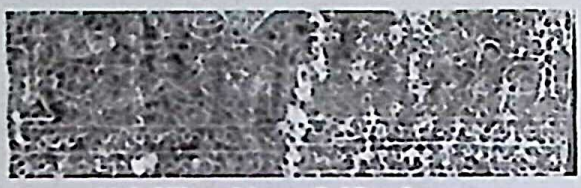
10.6. Palamangalam



10.7. Budumuttava, Sri Lanka



10.8. Viharchinna, Sri Lanka

10.9. Polichalur

10.10. Elkamvalasu

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Part II

Chinese Ceramics

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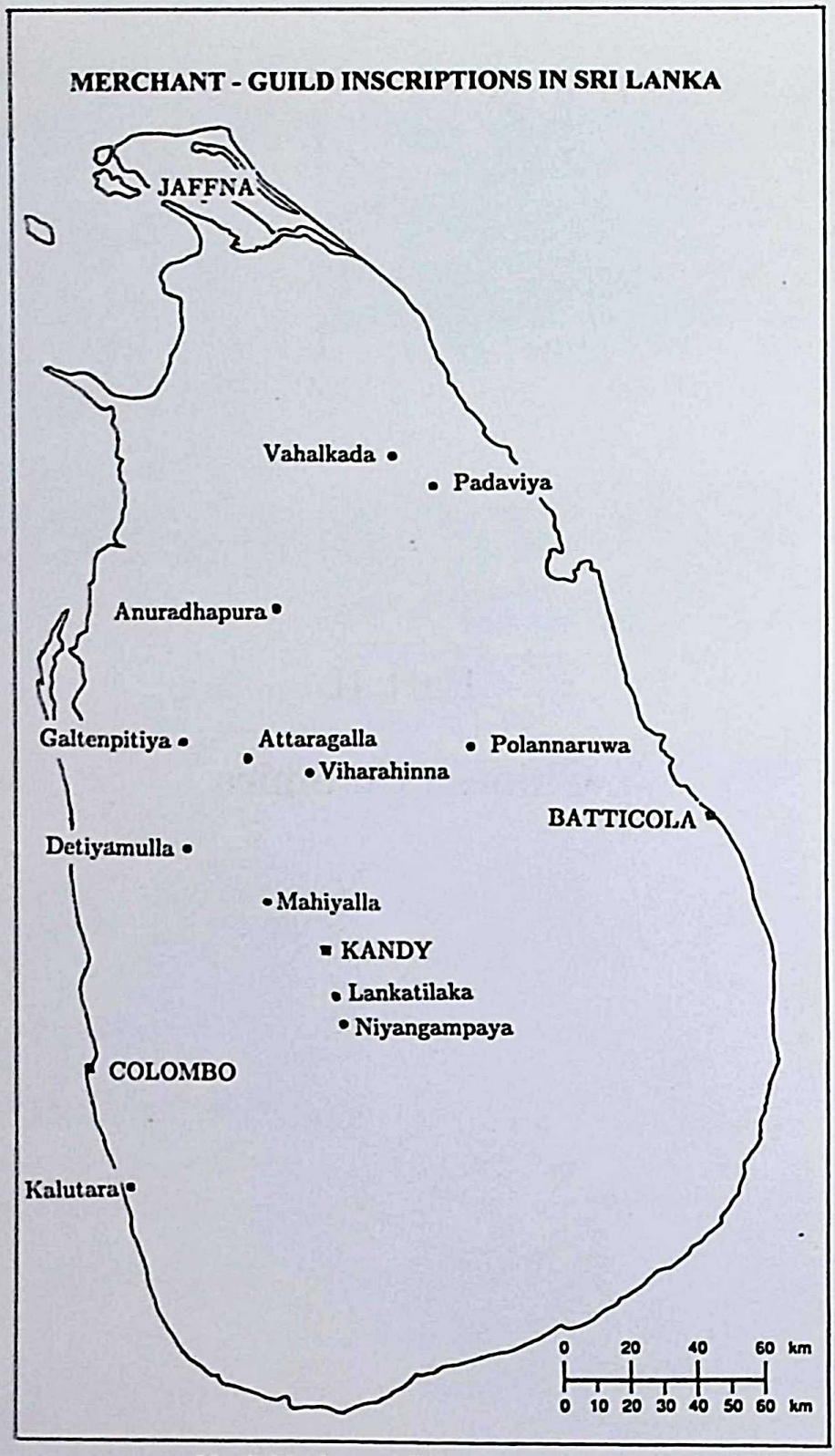

Map 2. Merchant - guild Inscriptions in Sri Lanka

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12

Testimony of Chinese Ceramic Sherds

N. Karashima and Y. Kanazawa

The discovery of Chinese potsherds was reported only sporadically in India and no systematic studies have been made in the past. The export of Chinese ceramics specially made for overseas trade seems to have started from the ninth century and increased greatly from the thirteenth century.[1] We find a large quantity of such potsherds in various places in Asia and Africa including al-Fustat in Egypt, Siraf in Iran, Bhambore in Pakistan, and Mantai in Sri Lanka.[2] *Daoyi Zhilue*, a fourteenth-century Chinese work describing the conditions of the southern sea countries, testified to the export of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain to one of the ports on the Malabar coast.[3]

Periyapattinam and Palaiya-Kayal (Plate 11)

In 1985, Subbarayalu discovered by chance a good number of Chinese potsherds in Periyapattinam, a small village on the Gulf of Mannar to the west of Mandapam. They were mostly fine specimens of celadon pieces from the Longquan kilns and blue-and-white pieces from the Jingdezhen kilns, both located in southern China, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After two years, Subbarayalu conducted trial excavations in that village, and on that occasion a Japanese team, including Kanazawa and myself, organised for

[1] J. Carswell's survey of India and Sri Lanka yielded little in India, though a good number of potsherds was discovered in Sri Lanka. John Carswell,'China and Islam: A Survey of the Coast of India and Ceylon', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society (=TOCS)*, 1977–78, pp. 25–45.

[2] Tsugio Mikami, 'China and Egypt: Fustat', *TOCS* 1980–81, pp. 67–89; D. Whitehouse, 'Excavation at Siraf: First Interim Report', *Iran*, VI, 1968, and second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth reports in *Iran*, vol. VII, VIII, IX and XII, 1969–72 and 1974; F.A. Khan, *Bhambore*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museum, 4th ed., Karachi, 1976; and J. Carswell and M. E. Prickett, 'Mantai 1980: A Preliminary Investigation', *Ancient Ceylon*, 5, 1984.

[3] Su Jiguing, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaoshi* (*Critical edition with notes of Wang Dayun's Daoyi Shilue*), Beijing, 1981, p.321.

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the purpose of making surveys of Chinese ceramic-sherds on the Indian coast, visited the place and examined the findings.[4] This excavation yielded roughly 1,000 sherds, and 500 pieces were picked up from the surface. These 1,500 sherds can be classified as follows:

Celadon	60%	Longquan	35%
		Fujian	25%
White porcelain	15%	Dehua	10%
		Jingdezhen	5%
Blue-and-white	10%	Jingdezhen	10%
Brown glaze	10%	Guangdong	10%
Others	5%		5%

Most of the pieces from Longquan, Fujian and Dehua are safely attributable to either the thirteenth or fourteenth century. However, some typical fourteenth-century Yuan blue-and-white sherds were obtained from the lowest stratum of a test-pit, which indicated that most of the celadon and other pieces also can be ascribed to the fourteenth century and that accumulation of sand in Periyapattinam was very rapid and occurred over a rather short period. Islamic potsherds were also obtained through both excavation and surface exploration, but their number is much less and may be less than five per cent of that of the Chinese potsherds. They seem to belong to the period from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Besides these potsherds, Periyapattinam has been locally known for yielding many old coins of the Cholas, Pandyas and the Madurai Sultans. One Chinese coin was obtained through excavation, but very unfortunately the date is not ascertainable owing to damage.

The discovery of large quantities of Chinese and Islamic potsherds and also of old coins, suggests that the village was once a big commercial town. Though we do not know from what time the name Periyapattinam was first used, the name Periyapattinam itself is suggestive of it having been a big port town. In the India Office Library and Records in London Karashima has seen a Dutch map of the Mannar Bay coast of the seventeenth century, in which the name Peripatan appears in the place where the present Periyapattinam is situated.[5] According to Henri Cordier, Periyapattinam is mentioned by the historians of the Jesuit missions as much frequented for commerce and as the chief town of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and therefore, it seems to have functioned as a port until the seventeenth century.[6] As for its origins, however, we have little knowledge. Although we have found a fragment (base portion)

[4] Important sherds are described in Y. Aoyagi and Y. Kanazawa, 'Chinese Ceramics Discovered on the Coramandal Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Trade Ceramic Studies*, 8, Tokyo, 1980.

[5] India Office Library and Records, Map Section, T IV 250, Chart of the Coast of Madura from Tengepatnam to Point Calimere and a part of the west coast of Ceylon, 17th century.

[6] Yule and Cordier, *Cathey and the Way Thither*, IV, London, 1916, p. 35, note 1.

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of white porcelain datable to the ninth or tenth century among the Chinese potsherds picked up in the village, we cannot draw any definite conclusions about the beginning of this port from such stray evidence. Judging from the chronological concentration of the Chinese potsherds discovered, however, the date of its flourishing as an international port should be ascribed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, more precisely to the fourteenth century.

Karashima has identified Periyapattinam with Dabadan, a port described in *Daoyi Zhilue*, and also with the Fattan described by Ibn Battuta in his Travels, on the basis of this discovery and other grounds. This point and the relation of Periyapattinam with Kayal, well known medieval port to the south of Periyapattinam in Tirunelveli District, is discussed in Chapter 18.[7]

On the surface at Palaiya-Kayal (Old Kayal, a northern part of Kayal) many sherds of Chinese celadon, white porcelain and brown glazed porcelain were found, but none of the blue-and-white, which suggests that Palaiya-Kayal flourished only in the thirteenth century, and not during the fourteenth century and after. In Devipattinam and Nagapattinam, to the north of Periyapattinam, we found a good number of blue-and-white Chinese ceramic sherds dating from the sixteenth century and after.

Darasuram, Velur, Golconda, and Gangaikondacholapuram(Plates 11–12)

In Chennai we had an opportunity to examine the Chinese ceramic sherds obtained from the precincts of Darasuram temple in Thanjavur District and the ruins of Velur fort in North Arcot District through excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India. While those discovered in Darasuram include *qingbai* sherds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, those in Velur include very good specimens of Jingdezhen blue-and-white and also multi-coloured pieces belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Archaeological Survey of India discovered also some good pieces of the Jingdezhen blue-and-white from the ruins of the Golconda fort in Hyderabad. Most pieces are ascribable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology conducted excavations at Gangaikondacholapuram in Tiruchirappalli District and obtained from the Chola palace site many sherds of fine *yingqing* type white porcelain from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the eleventh or twelfth century.

Pondicherry (Arikamedu) (Plate 13)

The 1991–92 season of excavations conducted at Arikamedu by the late Dr. Vimala Begley yielded forty-six sherds which were classified in the field records

[7] The discussion was originally made in N.Karashima, 'Periyapattinam: A South Indian Coastel Village-Discovery of Chinese Potsherds and Its Identification with Ta pa-tan and Fattan' (in Japanese), *Tohogaku*, 75, Tokyo, 1988; and 'Trade Relations Between south India and China During the 13th and 14th centuries', *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, Tokyo, 1989.

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as East Asian or Islamic. On the request of Dr. Begley, we examined in 1997 nine pieces of them preserved at the office of the Archaeological Survey of India in Chennai in order to contribute a chapter to the book on Arikamedu she was going to edit.[8] Though we were unable to see other pieces, as they were lost or misplaced in the office, we wrote the chapter on the basis of our examination of those actual nine pieces and the photographs of the rest, offered by Dr. Begley. Our classification of them is as follows.

Longquan celadon	18
Fujian white porcelain	8
Fujian celadon with bluish glaze	4
Jingdezhen/Guangdong blue-and-white	5
Islamic	3
Others	8

All the celadon and white porcelain pieces of Longquan and Fujian kilns are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the five pieces of Jingdezhen/Guangdong blue-and-white are of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Date of Islamic and other pieces are not clear. We have also examined the twenty-five sherds discovered through the early French excavations and preserved in the Pondicherry Musem, which confirms our classification above. Though Arikamedu is famous as Poduke, a port which flourished during the Roman trade period, the discovery of many Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries clearly shows that the port was frequented by foreign ships during those centuries. Karashima has discussed on the identification of Pondicherry with Xin-cum (Hsin-tsun) appearing in *Yuan Shi* (the annals of the Yuan dynasty) and other Chinese sources in Chapter 17 of this book.

Pandalayini-Kollam, Kodungallur, and Kollam (Plate 14)

We also discovered in Kerala a number of Chinese ceramic sherds in coastal towns such as Dharmadam, Pandalayini-Kollam, Calicut, Kodungallur and Kollam (Quilon), when we made a survey there in 1988.[9] Professor Raghava Varier of Calicut University dug some trial-pits in Pandalayini-Kollam, which yielded some Yuan blue-and-white sherds of the fourteenth century together with celadon pieces of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Ibn Battuta states in his Travels that Chinese ships stay at this port for winter and *Daoyi Zhilue* mentions 'blue-and-white' among the articles brought to this port (Shao-gu-nan) for trade by the Chinese. In the same town near the place where a

[8] A chapter in Vimala Begley (ed.), *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989-1992*, vol. 2, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Paris, forthcoming.

[9] Karashima, 'Discovery of Chinese Potsherds on the Malabar Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Museum*, ed. Tokyo National Museum, 462, Tokyo, 1989 and Y. Aoyyagi and H. Ogawa, 'Chinese Trade Ceramics of the 13th and 14th Centuries discovered on the Malabar Coast in India' (in Japanese), *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, Tokyo, 1989.

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Chinese temple (Chīna-paḷḷi) seems to have stood, we found a large number of blue-and-white sherds, mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Thrissur Archaeological Museum of the Kerala State Department of Archaeology preserves some pieces of Chinese celadon sherds excavated from Kodungallur and ascribable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[10]

In Kollam (Quilon), which was another important medieval port town mentioned in the contemporary Arab and Chinese sources, some good pieces of Chinese ceramics were obtained from the section of the ground exposed by the erosion of waves on the seashore in front of the lighthouse at Tangacheri. They include a fine specimen of fourteenth-century celadon produced for export, and some good pieces of *fu-yan* blue-and-white dishes from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. One small sherd picked up from the surface behind the lighthouse has Chinese characters '*da-ming-wang*' which indicate that it was produced in the Wang-li period (1573–1620 AD) of the Great Ming dynasty.

Though the Japanese team mentioned above did not make any survey on the Andhra coast, Dr. K.P. Rao of University of Hyderabad, an archaeologist specialising in south Indian megaliths and pottery, made surveys and discovered a good number of Chinese ceramic-sherds at Kottapatam in Nellore District. In 1995 he conducted an excavation. Even when we visited the site for the Taisho University project in 1998, we were able to pick up from the surface a good number of thirteenth to fifteenth centuries pieces of Chinese celadon, blue-and-white and brown glazed porcelain and also many of the Thai and Vietnamese pottery-sherds. They were examined by Dr. Mrs. Hanae Sasaki of Kanazawa University, specialist in Islamic and Chinese ceramics, who accompanied the team to Kottapatnam. The excavation and the findings are reported by Rao in Chapter 14 and by Sasaki in Chapter 15.

Sri Lanka

As seen above, the ceramic-sherds so far discovered in India are datable to the centuries only after the eleventh, though there is a stray piece ascribable to the ninth or tenth century. Those belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries are rather few and most of the pieces belong to the thirteenth century and after. In contrast to this tendency, the Chinese ceramic-sherds discovered in Sri Lanka include a large number of early-period pieces. Mantai, facing to the Mannar island, seems to have been the most important port in Sri Lanka frequented by foreign ships during ancient and medieval periods, yielding a great number of Chinese ceramic-sherds of the early centuries starting from the ninth. Though we were not able to visit Mantai for safety reasons, we were able to see the findings of its excavation in Anuradhapura and Yapahua. They include the pieces of white porcelain of Xing or Ding kilns, celadon of Yue

[10] The excavations during which these ceramic sherds were obtained is reported in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State*, for the year 1944–45, 1945–46, and 1946–47, Ernakulam, 1947 and 1948.

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Zhou kilns and Changsha ware of the ninth and tenth centuries. Our survey of them is reported by Kanazawa in Chapter 13.

One of the reasons of this difference in India and Sri Lanka concerning the date of the imported Chinese ceramics may be ascribable to the difference in the food habits of the people of the respective country. While in India, the majority of whose population was Hindus, people did not use bowls, dishes, plates, etc. for eating food to avoid possible pollution coming from their use, people in Sri Lanka, whose majority was Buddhist, did not have such prohibition in their food-taking and had much liking towards Chinese ceramics as table-wares from the beginning. In India, however, only after the increase of Muslim population in port towns in the thirteenth century, there arose for the first time much demand for Chinese ceramics. This issue should be studied further.

All these discoveries of Chinese ceramic sherds at various places in south India and Sri Lanka provide tangible evidence of continuous foreign trade during the long period from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries. However, it should be noted here that if we see the matter from the port-wise angle, each port seems to have had its prosperous time only for a limited period, as shown by the vicissitudes of Periyapattinam and Kayal. If we acquire a good knowledge on the Chinese ceramic-sherds obtained in various ports and combine it with the information obtainable from merchant-guild inscriptions in our study, we may understand better the merchant activities conducted through the networks constructed by them in Asia before the coming of Europeans to the Indian Ocean.

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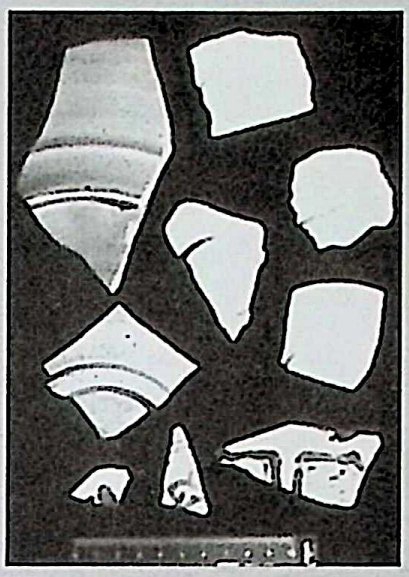
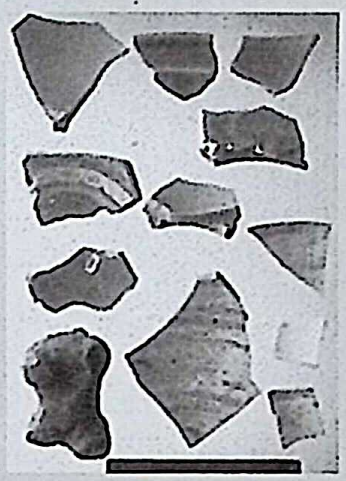
Plate 11

11.1.1.



11.1.2.

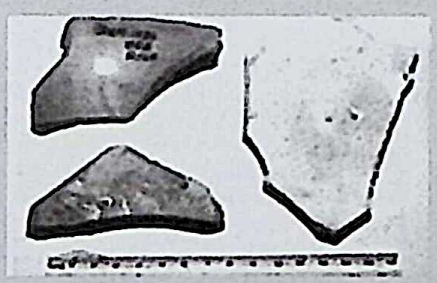
Periyapattinam



11.2.1.

11.2.2.

Palaiya-Kayal



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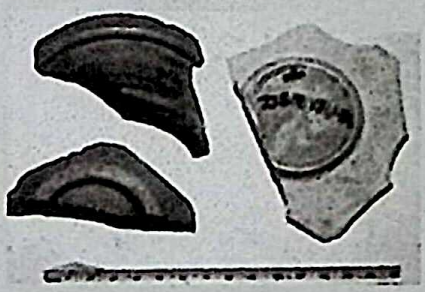

11.3.2.

Darasuram (*Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India*)

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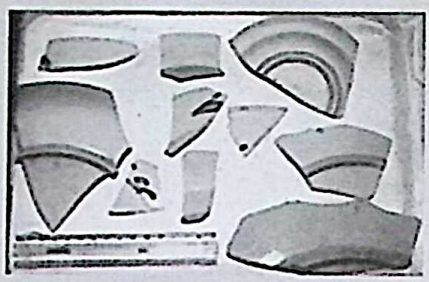
12.4.1.

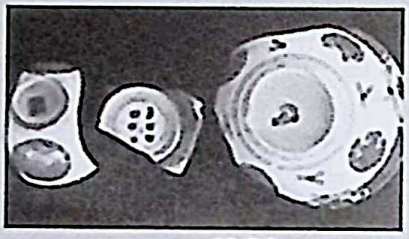


12.4.2.

Velur

(*Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India*)

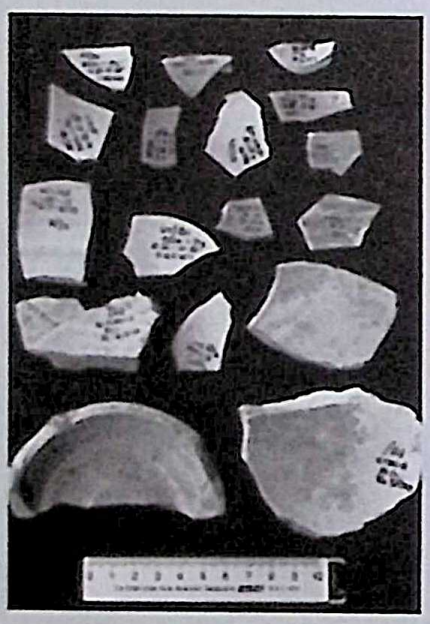
12.5.1.



12.5.2.

Golkonda

(*Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India*)



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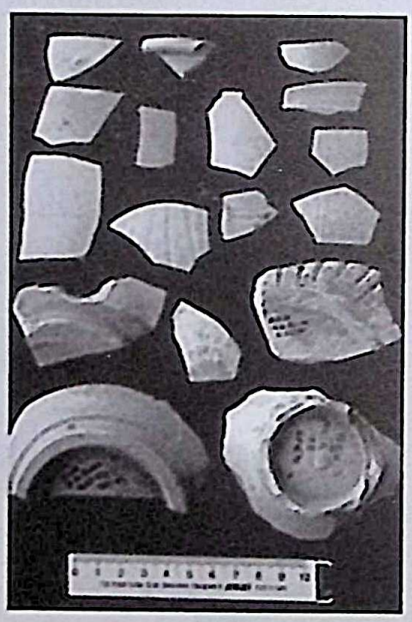

12.6.2.

Gangaikondacholapuram

(*Courtesy: State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu*)

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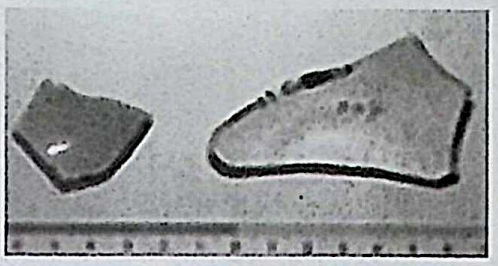
Plate 13



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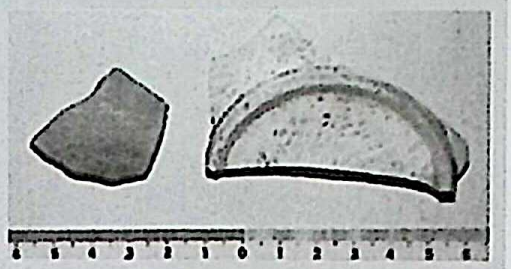
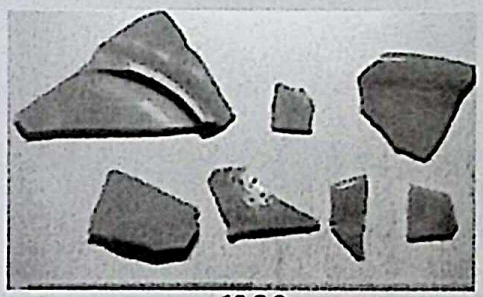


13.7.2.

13.8.1.



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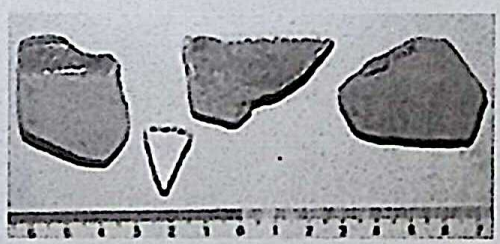

13.9.1.

13.9.2.

Arikamedu

(*Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India*)

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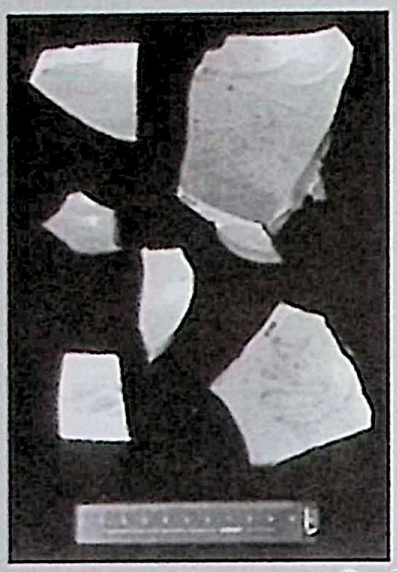
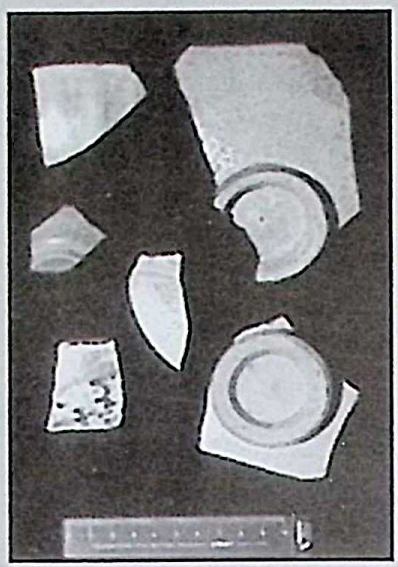
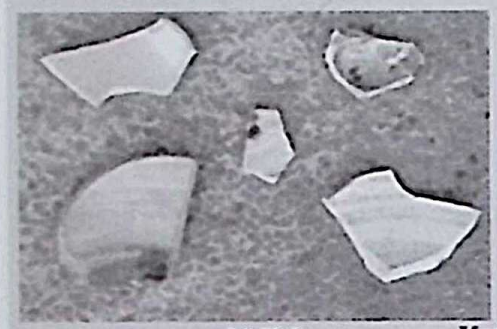
Plate 14



14.10.1



Pandalayini-Kollam 14.10.2



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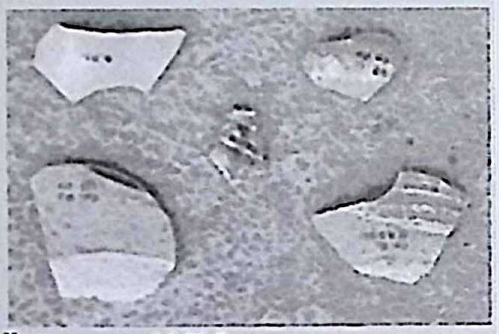

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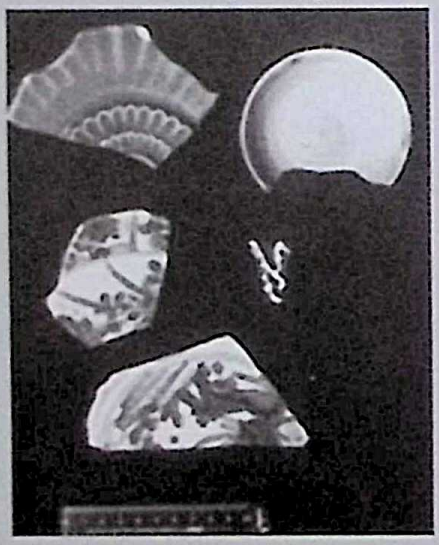
(*Courtesy: Archaeology Museum, Trissur, Kerala*)



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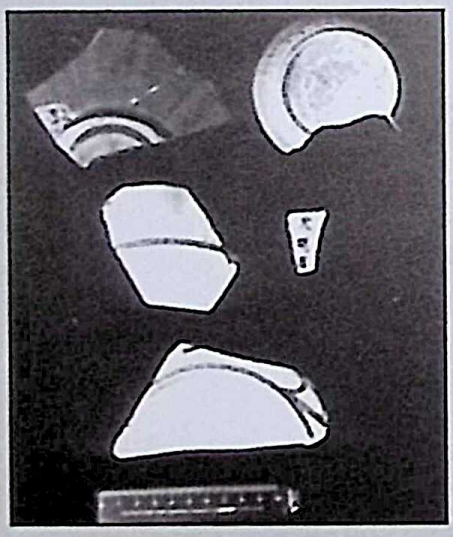

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13

Chinese Trade Ceramics Discovered in Sri Lanka

Y. Kanazawa

Mantai, the main port for Anuradhapura, the early dynastic capital, was the most important port in ancient and medieval Sri Lanka. Its excavations conducted in the 1980s yielded a great number of sherds of Chinese ceramics brought to that port from China during the period from the eighth to the eleventh century. In 1998, we were not able to visit the site personally, but we were given the opportunity for examining the ceramic-sherds excavated in Mantai and preserved at the Excavation Data Analysis and Storage Center in Anuradhapura by the kind permission of the Director General of Archaeological Department. We also examined the pieces from Mantai, Yapahua and other sites at the Archaeological Museums in Anuradhapura and Yapahua. The following is our observation of them.

According to Martha Prickett-Fernando, who conducted the excavations at Mantai in the 1980s, Chinese ceramic-sherds obtained in a considerable number through excavations include those of Dusun (Guangdong) jars, Changsha ware, Yue (Yuezhou celadon) ware, and Tang white ware, in the respective order of decrease in number.[1] Our examination of sherds in Anuradhapura is to confirm her report.

1. Chinese Ceramics from the Mantai Site

The sherds which we examined in the Excavation Data Analysis and Storage Center include a good number of sherds of Yuezhou ware celadon (Pl.15.1), Changsha ware (Pl.15.2), and Guangdong ware (Pl.15.3), all of which are datable to the 9th–10th century.

[1] Martha Prickett-Fernando, 'Middlemen and End-users: The Finds of Yue and Longquan Celadons in Sri Lanka', Ho Chuimei (ed.), *New Light on Chinese Yue and Longquan Wares*, Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong Occasional Papers and Monographs No. 110, Hong Kong, 1999, p. 309.

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The Mantai Chinese ceramics which are displayed in the Anuradhapura Archaeological Museum, have once been examined by Professor Tsugio Mikami, and our observation of them confirms his report.[2] There are sherds of Xing or Ding ware white porcelain bowl (Pl.15.4). A similar sherd was also found in Periyapattinam in India on the opposite end of the Adam's Bridge to Mantai. Its discovery in Periyapattinam seems to be a result of the secondary distribution of the ceramics brought first to Mantai, if we consider that it is the only piece of that variety so far discovered in India[3] and also the closeness of those two places. Other pieces worthy of note in the museum are the fragments of the Yuezhou ware celadon bowl, a Changsha ware plate with underglaze brown and green design (Pl.15.5), and an Islamic greenish blue glaze jar with applique decoration (Pl.15.6). All of these are ascribable to the 9th–10th century, indicating that Mantai was the centre of the ceramic trade during that period. Though the location of its discovery was not ascertainable, we saw in the museum an Islamic plate (Pl.15.7), which is a copy of the 14th–15th century Chinese celadon ware.

2. Chinese Ceramics from the Yapahuwa Site

The potsherds and other artifacts which were discovered in Yapahuwa, the capital of Bhuvanekabahu I in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and are now preserved in the Archaeological Museums in Yapahua and Anuradhapura, have once been examined by Professor Mikami, and our observation of them confirms his report[4]. In this site, about 1500 Chinese coins of different eras were found ranging from the Tang dynasty Kaiyuan Tongbato to Yuan dynasty Zhiyuan Tongbao (Pl.16.8). There are also displayed a Longquan ware celadon bowl with embossed design of flowers (Pl.16.9), the Fujian ware white porcelain bowls (Pl.16.10–11), the Guangdong ware green or brown glaze jars with four or six handles (Pl.16.12–13), and a Guangdong ware large bowl (Pl.16.14), all of which are datable to the 13th–14th century.

3. Chinese Ceramics from Sites other than Yapahuwa in the Archaeological Museum in Yapahuwa

Among the potsherds displayed in the museum are found those of the Yuezhou ware celadon bowl (Pl.17.15-18) and vase (Pl.17.18 right), and the Changsha ware underglaze green design bowl (Pl.17.19) and brown glaze jar (Pl.17.20), all of which are ascribable to the 9th–10th century. There are also fragments of a Yaozhou ware celadon plate(Pl.17.21), a Longquan ware celadon plate

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[2] Tsugio Mikami, 'Ceramic Road: Sri Lanka, An Intermediary Base in the Ceramic Trade between East and West', *A Study of the History of Ceramic Trade* (in Japanese), vol. 2, Tokyo, 1988, p. 3.

[3] Y. Aoyagi, Y. Kanazawa, 'Chinese Ceramics Discovered at East Coast in South India', *Trade Ceramics Studies*, no. 8, Fukuoka, 1998, p. 88.

[4] Tsugio Mikami, 'Ceramic Road: Sri Lanka, An Intermediary Base in the Ceramic Trade between East and West', *A Study of the History of Ceramic Trade* (in Japanese), vol. 2, Tokyo, 1988, pp. 3 and 161.

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(Pl.17.22) of the Song dynasty, a green glaze jar (Pl.17.23), possibly of the Gongxian ware of the 9th–10th century, and a white porcelain jar (Pl.17.24), which might be the Guangdong ware of the Song dynasty. However, the locations of their discoveries are not ascertainable.

Explanatory Notes to Plates

Pl.15.1 Yuezhou Ware Celadon Bowl, from Mantai Site, 9th–10th century. (EDASC).[5]

Pl.15.2 Changsha Ware Plate (left) and Bowl, from Mantai Site, 9th–10th century. (EDASC)

Pl.15.3 Guangdong Ware Jar, from Mantai Site, 9th-10th century. (EDASC)

Pl.15.4 Xing or Ding Ware White Porcelain Bowl, from Mantai Site, 9th–10th century. (AAM).[6]

Pl.15.5 Changsha Ware, from Mantai Site, 9th–10th century. (AAM)

Pl.15.6 Islamic Greenish Blue Glaze Jar with Applique Decoration, from Mantai Site, 9th–10th century. (AAM)

Pl.15.7 Islamic Ware, Imitation of 14th–15th century Chinese Celadon. (AAM)

Pl.16.8 Chinese Coins, from Yapahuwa Site, 8th–14th century. (sc AMY).[7]

Pl.16.9 Longquan Ware Celadon Bowl with Embossed Design of Flowers, from Yapahuwa Site, 13th–14th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.16.10–11 Fujian Ware White Porcelain Bowl, from Yapahuwa Site, 13th–14th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.16.12 Guangdong Ware Green or Brown Glaze Jars with Four Handles, from Yapahuwa Site, 13th–14th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.16.13 Guangdong Ware Green or Brown Glaze Jars with Six Handles, from Yapahuwa Site, 13th–14th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.16.14 Guangdong Ware Large Bowl, from Yapahuwa Site, 13th–14th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.15–18 Yuezhou Ware Celadon Bowl and Vase (19 right), 9th–10th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.19 Changsha Ware Underglaze Green Design Bowl, 9th–10th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.20 Changsha Ware Brown Glaze Jar, 9th–10th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.21 Yaozhou Ware Celadon Plate, Song Dynasty. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.22 Longquan Ware Celadon Plate, Song Dynasty. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.23 Green Glaze Jar, Probably Gongxian Ware, 9th–10th century. (sc AMY)

Pl.17.24 White Porcelain Jar, Probably Guangdong ware, Song Dynasty. (sc AMY)

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[5] EDASC=The Excavation Data Analysis and Storage Center, Anuradhapura.

[6] AAM=The Anuradhapura Archaeological Museum

[7] AMY=Archaeological Museum in Yapahua

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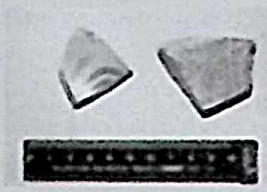
Plate 15

15.1



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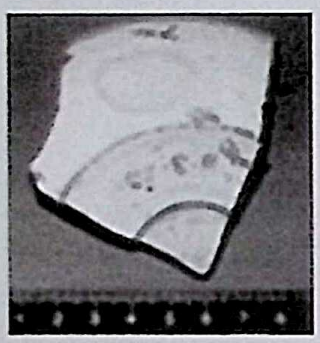

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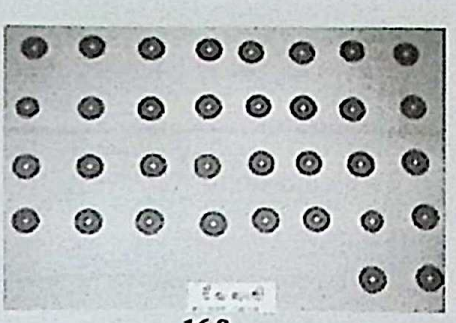
Plate 16



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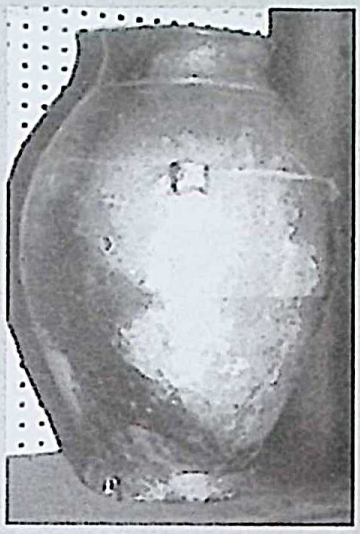

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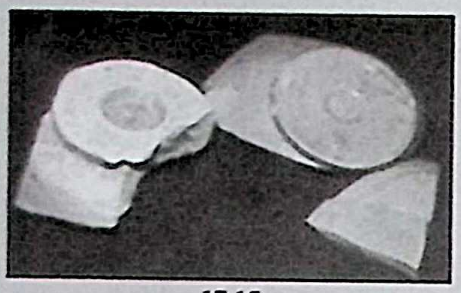
Plate 17



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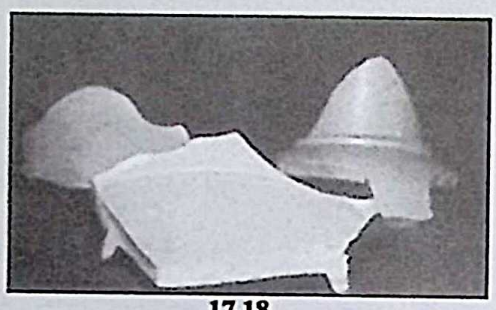

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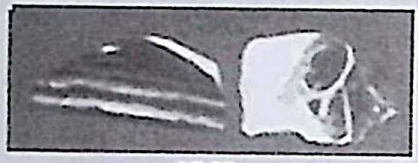

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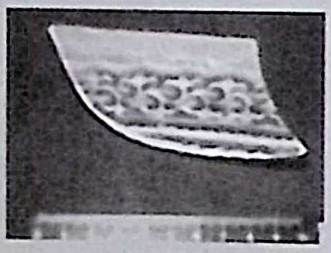

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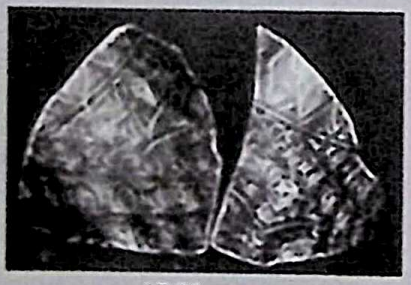

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14

Kottapatnam—A South Indian Port Trading with Eastern Lands

K.P. Rao

Kottpatnam (80°, 01′ E, 14°, 07′ N) is located on the East coast near the famous rocket-launching station, Sriharikota in Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh, south India. This place, now a small village with about 50 inhabitants, seems to have been an important trading station receiving vessels both from East and West[1]. The coastal indentations which usually facilitate formation of port facilities are very few on the east coast of peninsular India. Such indentations are usually formed by coastal hills. But, large stretches of the east coast does not have hills near the coastal stretches. In such a situation, the few lagoons and estuaries on the coast must have been very important for locating ports. Such a factor seems to have favoured the locality of Kottpatnam, as it is blessed with a large lagoon.

The lagoon is very extensive, measuring about 5 km north–south with a breadth ranging between 500 m to 1 km east–west (Fig. 1). It is a lengthy, irregular formation separated from the sea (Bay of Bengal) by a narrow sand bar. The lagoon has only one opening into the sea, exactly opposite the Kottapatnam village.

The river Swarnamukhi takes an abrupt turn southwards and merges with the sea about 6 km south of Kottapatnam. Examination of the Satellite imageries[2] revealed that in the past the river was flowing northwards, and the present lagoon must have constituted the estuary of the river. Thus, it is likely that the port at Kottapatnam was located in this estuary, and the river must have been providing hinterland access to the imports and exports from this port.

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[1] Rao 1994: 829–831

[2] The author is grateful to Dr. A. Narendra Nath, Group Head, Oceanography & Project Manager (DOD), National Remote Sensing Agency, Department of Space, Government of India, Hyderabad, for providing facilities to study the satellite imageries.

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The site yielding pottery and other antiquities is located south of the village, abutting the outskirts of the village. It is quite extensive, as it extends to nearly one km north–south and 100–200 m east–west. Since the site is just on the coast, it is completely covered by sand. In fact, pottery and other antiquities are found mixed up in the sand. The sandy nature of the soil prevented layer formation, and we come across antiquities of different periods mixed up together. This factor presents some difficulties in working out stratigraphic chronology for the site.

The whole site is strewn with rich concentration of pottery, apart from other antiquities like bangles, beads, glass pieces and occassional occurrence of coins. The pottery includes plain ware, glazed ware, kaolin ware and stamped pottery. From the surface of the site, a total of 1129 sherds were collected by the present author. The quantity of different wares occurring at this site could be known from the following table:

Table I

Percentages of Wares at Kottapatnam

No	Ware	Total sherds	Percentage
1	Plain black/grey	192	17.01
2	Plain red	128	11.34
3	Thin fine red	6	0.53
4	Red stamped	238	21.08
5	Grey stamped	26	2.30
6	Black stamped	4	0.35
7	White-paste pottery	65	5.75
8	White-paste stamped ware	69	6.11
9	Fine grey	58	5.13
10	Rouletted ware	60	5.31
11	Fine red Rouletted	1	0.08
12	Coarse Rouletted (imitation)	5	0.44
13	Celedon ware	80	7.08
14	Greenish-grey glazed	58	5.13
15	White glazed	45	3.98
16	Black glazed	42	3.72
17	Thick grey / brown porcelain	10	0.88
18	Glazed ware with paintings	29	2.56
19	Glazed (non-specific)	12	1.06
20	Red ware with gold colour slip	1	0.08
	Total	1129	100.00

Of the above wares, the most abundant is the Stamped ware, which constitutes altogether nearly 30 percent of the total collection. One almost complete

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pot (Plate 19) was also recovered from the site. Examination of this pot and the sherds revealed that the whole body of the pots, except the rim and the neck were decorated with the impressed designs. Mostly, geometric and linear patterns are employed. Floral and faunal patterns are almost absent. The designs seem to have been executed by employing carved wooden paddles. This technique is common in Southeast Asia (Solheim 1967: 20, plate 1). The designs found at Kottapatnam also have close parallels from ancient sites in Southeast Asia like Johere Lama, Kota Tinggi (Gibson-hill 1955: plates 8-14) Tanjong Kubor, Santabong (Solheim 1965: plates I-X). The following factors suggest that the ware reached Kottapatnam through maritime contacts:

1. Continous stamping on the whole of the pot (except the neck and the rim) was never a tradition in India, whereas it was so in China, East Asia and Southeast Asia;

2. So far similar Stamped ware have been reported only from the coastal sites like Alagankulam (Begley 1994: 203, fig. 4.221), Arikamedu (Wheeler 1946: plates XXVIII – B5, XXXI – C2, XXXII – B2; Begley 1996: 203–224), Manikpattana (Pradhan 1996: 121), and Jaugada (*IAR*, 1956-57: 30–31, plate XLIVA), and none from any interior site, suggesting its link with the maritime activity in its distribution;

3. The explorations conducted by the present author reveals that similar ware is found only at Kondurupalem, Midderevu, again which are located on the coast.

This suggests that the production of the Stamped ware was not a local tradition; A Stamped ware sherd from Kottapatnam was subjected to Neutron Activation Analysis.[3] The composition of this sherd was compared with a ring well piece coming from the same site. Ring well piece was selected to represent the local clays, as they are never brought from long distances, and hence they can serve as an index for knowing the composition of the local clays. Twelve rare elements are compared quantitatively and the results are as follows:

No	Element	Potsherd	Ring-well
1	Lanthanum	59.0	54.3
2	Cerium	105.0	97.0
3	Samarium	10.2	8.16
4	Europium	2.28	1.55
5	Terbium	1.69	1.74
6	Yetterbium	3.55	3.02
7	Lutetium	0.53	0.55

[3] The author is grateful to Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Mumbai, for conducting the analysis.

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8	Uranium	4.87	10.4
9	Thorium	22.4	34.6
10	Hafnium	4.56	6.96
11	Scandium	21.3	19.2
12	Tantalum	1.95	2.15

(Concentration in PPM)

The above analysis reveals that the Stamped ware was not produced locally. Further, X-ray Diffraction Analysis (XRD) of the Stamped ware from Kottapatnam and Manikpatna (Orissa) was made (Gogte 1997: 69-83) to know whether this ware coming from two far off places show any common features. The patterns generated by the Stamped ware from both these sites revealed common origin. At the same time, the ware has not shown compositional similarity with the local clays, as revealed from the XRD analysis. Thus the ware found at both the port sites is definitely imported from a common source located abroad. Future comparison of these test results with the samples from East Asia/Southest Asia might make this point more clear.

Scientific analysis of the Rouletted ware also suggested that trade networks were operating in the Bay of Bengal–Indian Ocean with lands located as far as the South China Sea. The XRD analysis and the Neutron Activation Analysis conducted on Rouletted ware from India, Sri Lanka and Bali have suggested common Indian origin for this ware (Ardika and Bellwood 1991: 224). A recent XRD study of Rouletted ware from Arikamedu, Alagankulam, Kottapatnam, Manikpur, and Sisupalgarh (all Indian east coast sites) and samples from Tra Kieu in Vietnam has suggested a common source located at Chandraketugarh–Tamluk region in West Bengal (Gogte 1997: 69–83). These scientific studies confirm the active trade networks operating in the littoral regions east of peninsular India with far off lands.

Chronology of the Stamped Ware

The Stamped ware seems to have started arriving on the Indian sub-continent right from the first quarter of the first Millennium BC, if we go by the stratigraphical evidence from the archaeological sites on the east coast. Of course, at Kottapatnam it was not possible to work out stratigraphical dating due to the sandy nature of the deposit, which prevented layer formation.

At Arikamedu, Stamped ware was found in 'pre-Arretine' layers (Wheeler 1946: 49-51, plates XXVIII B, XXX B and XXXI C). Though Wheeler dated the Arretine layers to the first quarter of the first century BC (Wheeler 1946: 49-51), subsequent studies by Begley suggested second century BC to the layers yielding Rouletted ware (Begley 1986: 305–313). This indicates that the stamped ware found below the Arretine layers at Arikamedu have to be assigned a date prior to the 2nd century BC. Such early date also comes from Jaugada (Ganjam district, Orissa), where the Stamped ware was found along with a Punch-marked coin (*IAR*, 1956–57: 30–31, plate XLIV A), which

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could be dated to the 2nd or 3rd century BC. All this evidence suggests that the Stamped ware reached the eastern coast of peninsular India by the early centuries of the pre-Christian era.

Contacts with the Eastern lands appear to have started right at least from the Megalithic period (Iron Age), roughly datable to 1000 BC to 200 BC in south India. Similarity in the megalihic monuments coming from south India and Southeast Asia is already known (Ramanna 1983). Similarity in the funerary assemblage is also observed in the recent past. It appears that a thorough and coordinated research is needed to properly understand the nature and antiquity of south India's early contacts with the Eastern lands.

Trade with the eastern lands, especially China continued into the late medieval period. Kottapatnam has yielded profuse quantities of Celadon ware and other glazed wares, coming from China and other eastern lands. One Chinese Coin (Plate 19) belonging to the Yongle period of Ming Dynasty, issued in AD 1408 was also found at the site.[4] Though there are reports of more coin finds by others, the details are not available at present.

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[4] For details see Chapter 15 by Dr. H. Sasaki. The coin was identified and dated by Dr. Joe Cribb, Curator of South Asian Coins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London.

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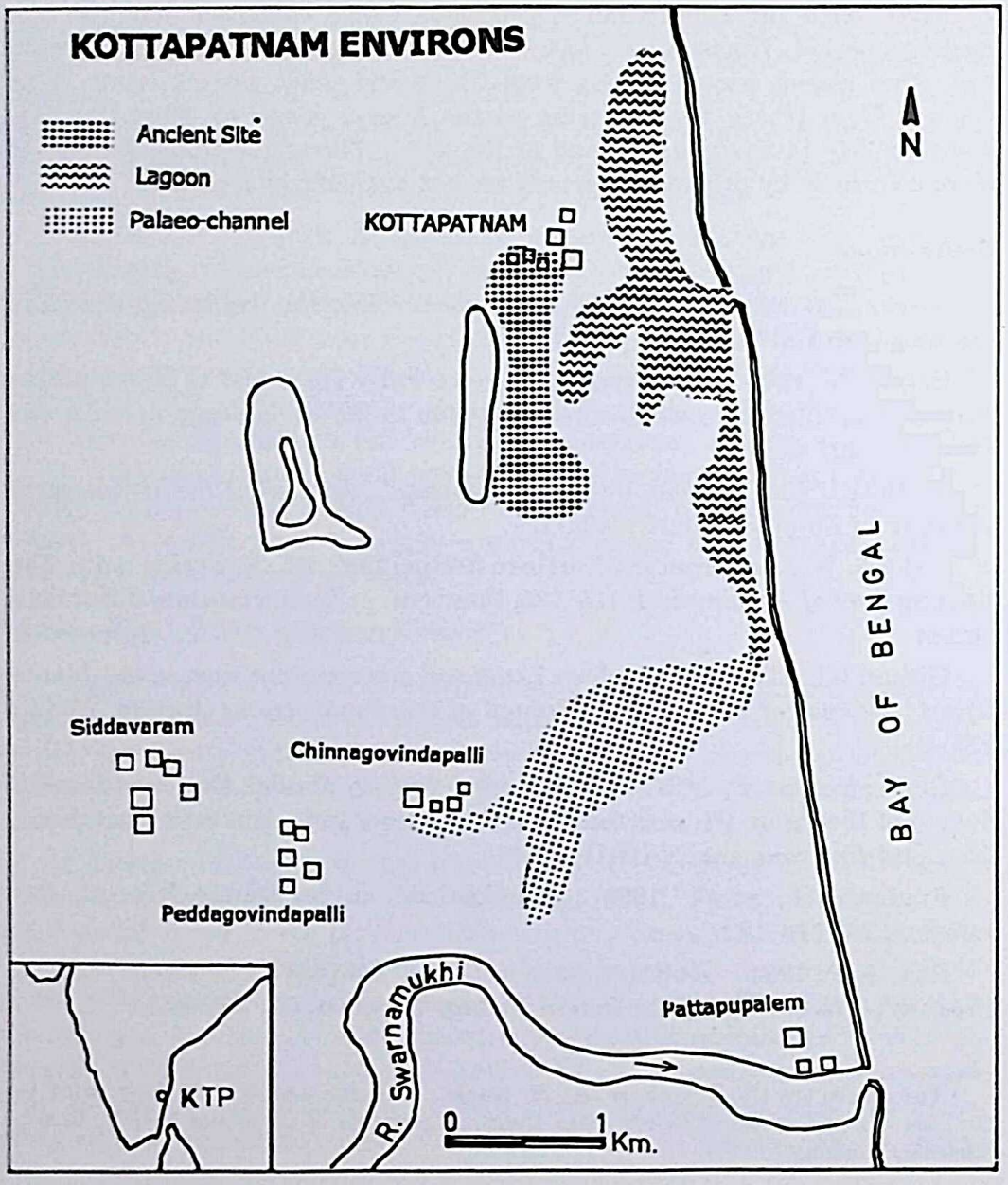

Map 3. Kottapatnam Environs

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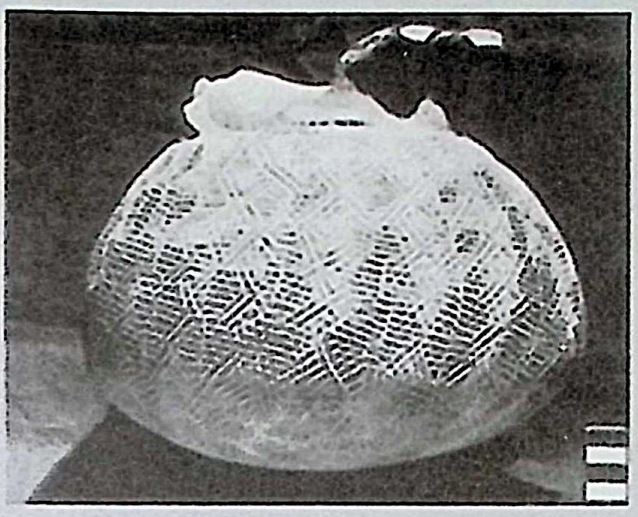
Plate 18



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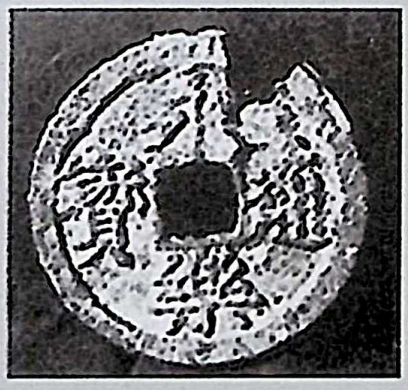

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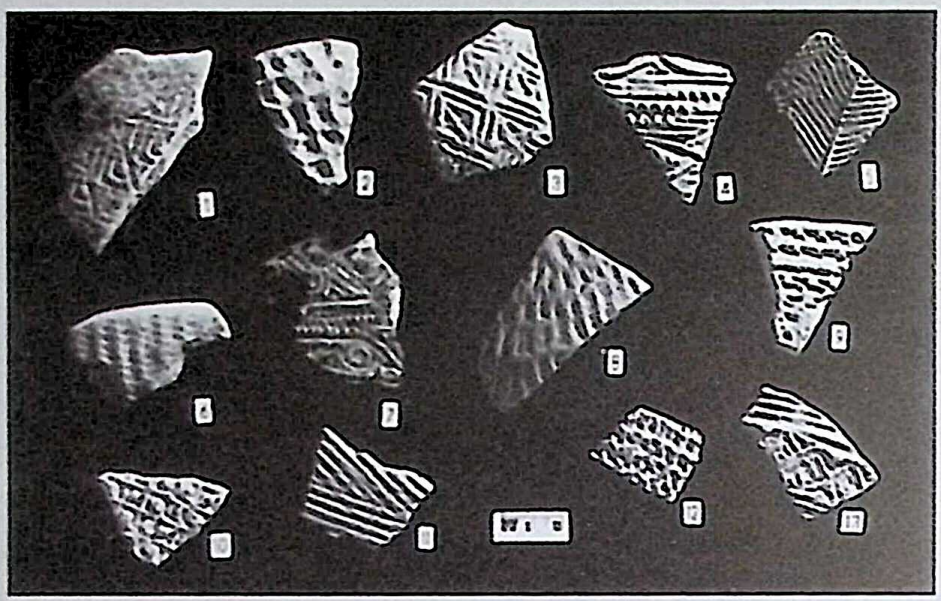

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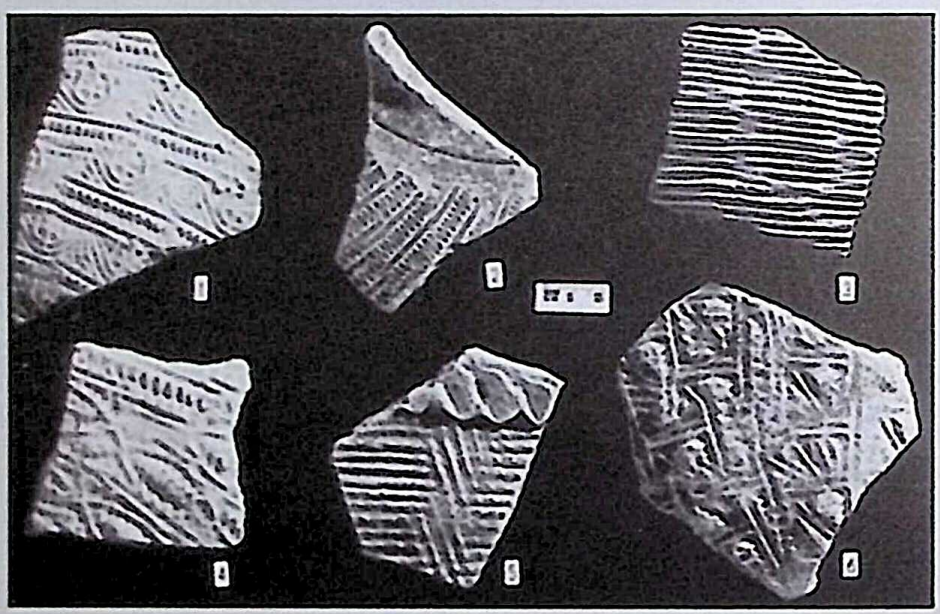

19.5.

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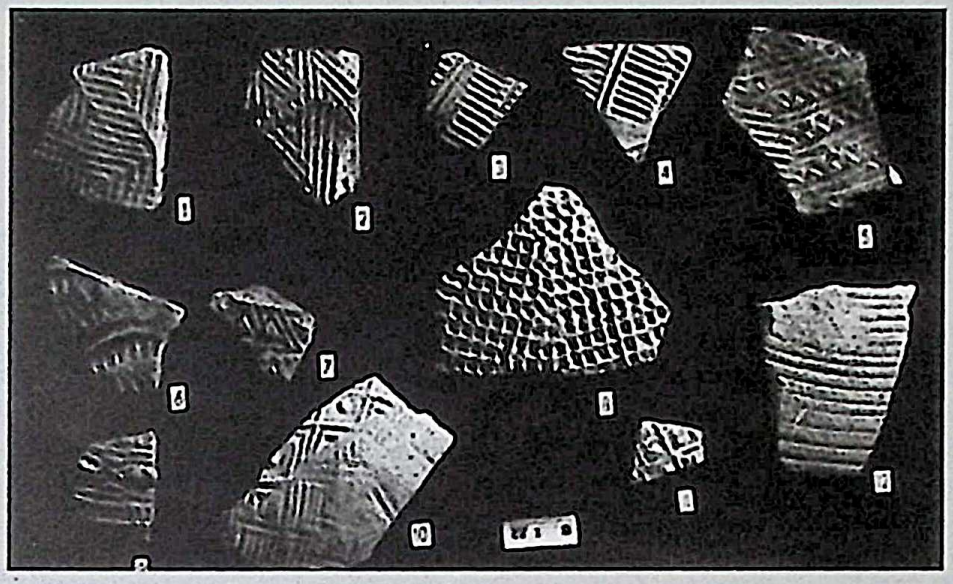
Plate 20



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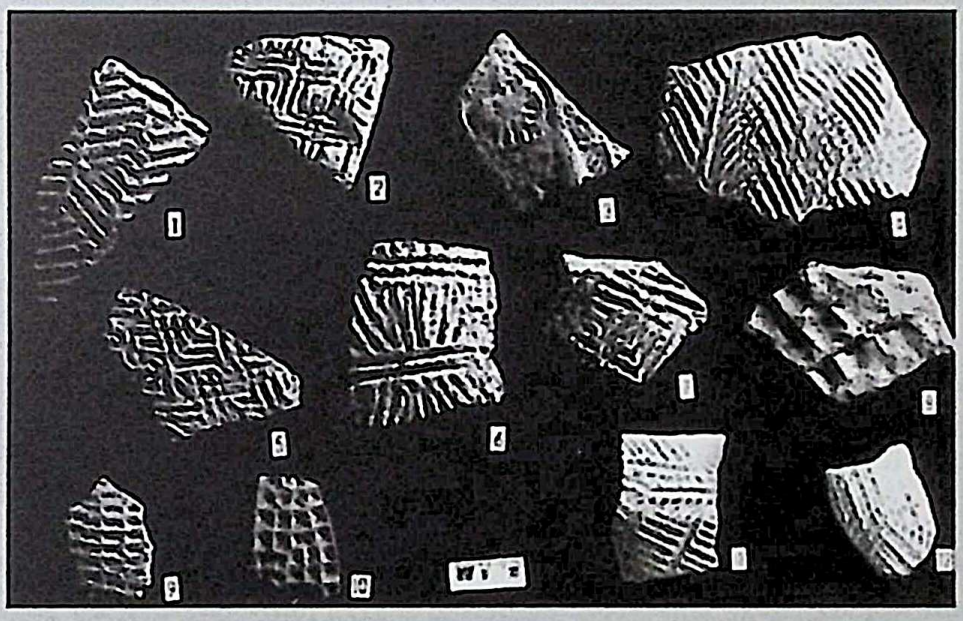

20.7.

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15

Chinese and Thai Ceramics in Kottapatnam

H. Sasaki

Kottapatnam site in Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh, India is located on the eastern coast facing to the Bay of Bengal. There is a lagoon near the site, which lies along the coastline and a sand bar stretches into the sea almost closing the outlet of the lagoon. A narrow road, which leads to the modern village, cuts the site parallel to the beach. Along this road, there are found many ceramic sherds on the surface. My first visit to this site was in August 1998, when the Taisho University mission, headed by Prof. Karashima,[1] gave me an opportunity of visiting this site together with the team. The site was almost flat and stretches for about 1 km along the modern beach. There were several small sand mounds, on and around which many Chinese ceramic sherds and a large number of earthenware sherds were found. There were no visible traces of constructions around those mounds. A road to the village had just newly been paved by asphalt on the foundation sand, which were brought from outside. A bush covered the flat sandy surface from the road to the modern beach, and there are found no sherds inside the bush.

In August 1999, once again I visited the site with Dr. K.P. Rao. He showed me the traces of some building walls near the modern village. There remained only the wall bases of rectangular-shaped rooms. Inside those rooms, there were scattered many small fragments of earthenware. Opposite to the road, where it enters the modern village, I found lines of stones, which are the top of the house wall bases. The lines of stones were cut by the garbage holes revealing their sections. There were no finds in the layers seen on the sections. However, during our visit of the previous year, we found a wide range of sherds

[1] I would like to express here my deep thanks to the authorities of the Taisho University and particularly to Prof. Karashima for offering me a chance to visit the Kottapatnam site and also for inviting me to contribute a report to this book. I also express my gratitude to Dr. K.P. Rao for his permission for studying sherds of his collection from Kottapatnam site and for his warm cooperation.

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near this point, and this suggests that the centre of old Kottapatnam village was near this point.

Dr. Rao had collected many sherds by his own survey for some years at Kottapatnam site. During my second visit to the site, Dr. Rao allowed me to take photos of his Kottapatnam collection. Plate 21 includes the photos taken by Dr. Rao. Plates 22 to 6 include the photos that I took. Plates 25 to 26 show some of them with drawings of sherds collected from Kottapatnam site.

1. *Chinese white ware* Several pieces of white ware were seen among the collection. They are very few, however, compared to the large number of celadon sherds.

2. *Chinese celadon(green ware)* (Pl. 23.10–11, Pl. 25.1–12)

Most of the celadon sherds are of the Longquan ware. Pl. 25.1, 25.7, 25.8, 25.9 are the typical Longquan ware with carved lotus motif on the exterior or/and the interior wall, dated from the late 13th century to the early 14th century. Often it has stamped impression of flowers or flowers with leaves and wave pattern in the centre bottom of interior (Pl. 25.11-22). Pl. 23.10 shows large dishes, bowls, lids of jar with the carved lotus decoration and a molded foot of incense burner. These are commonly known as trade wares and are found at many sites all over the world in large quantities. Pl. 22.1 is the bowl made at Fujian or Guangdong in late 13th or early 14th century. This has 6 spur marks in the interior, which are commonly seen in mass-produced coarse ware in South China. Celadon of this coarse type was found in a fair quantity.

3. *Chinese blue-and-white*

Pl. 22.2 shows the Jingdezhen bowl, which has blue-and-white on interior and chocolate brown glaze on exterior. This could be dated to the 16th century or early 17th century. Pieces of some other blue-and-white wares (Pl. 25.13–15) are small fragments of the Ming period.

4. *Chinese enameled ware* (Pl. 22.4)

Only one small sherd of multi-coloured enameled ware was found. Colour has almost disappeared due to long erosion, but traces of pigments can be seen on white body. Judged by the fabric, it is certainly Chinese, but was impossible to date.

5. *Thai celadon* (Pl.23.11)

Pl. 25.25 to Pl. 26.46 are from Si-sachanarai kilns. Archaeological studies at kilns in Thailand started from 1980's. Thai celadon has become known well by the excavations of kilns in northern Thailand, and the excavation proved that huge amounts of celadon were produced in Si-sachanarai kilns. Celadon bowls and dishes are of common shape. Shapes and curved decorations are roughly finished. Carved lotus petal pattern is the most favoured decoration

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and light blue glaze was often used on fine fabric of grayish white with few small black particles.

6. *Thai iron painted ware*

Pl. 25.20–24 show the Thai iron painted ware. There has been found a fairly large amount of Thai iron painted ware. It is known from excavations that a good amount of this ware was produced at Si-sachanarai kilns and a large number of sherds are still remaining at the kiln site. The fabric shows several colours, such as gray, red and whitish gray with black and white inclusions. Because of this fabric colour, white slip was applied before the painting by iron pigment. Horizontal lines are commonly applied along with floral pattern, scrolls, fish and waterweeds designs. Paintings are rough but show very skilled touch and free use of brush lines. Finally transparent glaze was applied and fired in the single-chamber up-draft kiln. Large bowl and dish are the common shapes.

7. *Unglazed ware*

Pl. 26.47–53 show unglazed jar with patting pattern. Similar jar is produced in northeast Thai. Many different patting patterns were found and shown on Pl. 21.4–7. As it is also introduced that similar patting techniques are seen on Myanmar ware, we need further study on unglazed ware. Pl. 22.8 shows unglazed jar with stamped pattern on its shoulder. A piece similar to this was found at Spanburi kiln in the Central Thai. Many sherds of unglazed plain jar, ewer, cooking pot and lid were also collected and shown on Pl. 21.3 and Pl. 26.50–52. Their independent provenances are difficult to find.

8. *Brown glazed ware*

Pl. 25.16–18 and Pl. 24.15 show the sherds of large jar and vase. They are East Asian wares, possibly from China, Thai or/and Myanmar. Pl. 22.7 is upper part of small gourd shape vase and at my visit to Si-sachanarai kiln site, I found this type in the kiln wastes.

9. *Islamic ware*

Two pieces of blue/green glazed Islamic ware were found at the site, one of them being shown in Pl. 22.5. This type is commonly found in many sites on the Arabian Gulf coast, such as Julfar, UAE, and the sites in Iran, Yemen, and Oman. In our excavations at Julfar, they were found together with the ceramics of the 15th century. Dish with flat open rim is most common shape and sometimes bowls with upright mouth are found. Provenance is not known yet.

A piece of green colour dots on white glazed ware was found (Pl.22.6). It looks like a Myanmar painted ware, but no pattern of dotting motif has been reported in Myanmar green painted ware. This could be an Iranian ware.

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10. *Glass objects*

The glass bangles from Kottapatnam site (Pl. 24.17) are of simple technique and are comparable to those excavated at Julfar, Jazirat al-Hulaylah and Luliyah in the United Arab Emirates. A few glass vessels (Pl. 24.18) were also found. Their quantity from Kottapatnam, however, is much less than that usually obtainable in the sites of Islamic-period along the Indian Ocean.

Findings

Kottapatnam site is very rich in traded materials from East Asia. Celadon of Longquan kilns, which was favoured all over the world during the medieval period, was found in plenty at the Kottapatnam site. Almost all of them are those produced in Longquan kilns during a rather shorter period from the late 13th century to the early 14th century. No later Chinese celadon was discovered in Kottapatnam.

Chinese blue-and-white is also commonly found at many sites in enormous amount and is a good indicator for dating the sites after the 14th century, but the number of Chinese blue-and-white sherds found in Kottapatnam is surprisingly limited. As blue and white was always highly admired all over the world, Kottapatnam seemed to have declined in the trade with China before the blue and white era. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that no Chinese celadon after the 16th centuries were found, whereas it is commonly found in huge quantity at other sites and is a well known trade ware.

Another important phenomenon of this site is that large quantities of Thai glazed and unglazed ware were collected. The underglaze iron painted ware has specific patterns of simple hand writing decorations, even though there appeared many other different decorations and stamped designs in later period. Underglaze iron painted ware of this type is considered to be of around the 15th century. Unglazed wares are usually used for daily utensils and in most cases they are the locally made. In the Kottapatnam site, Thai unglazed jars of large and medium size were found in a great number. Considering the large quantity of wares from Thai, it may be said that there was a very brisk commercial relation between Kottapatnam and Thailand.

From the above, it may be said that Kottapatnam had a frequent interchange with China during the 13th and 14th centuries, which, however, seems to have declined thereafter, and its trading relation shifted from China to Thailand. Kottapatnam seems to have been a port which actively traded with Southeast Asia. The occurrence of a few sherds of the 16th to early 17th century Iranian green glazed ware and Chinese blue-and-white of the 16th century suggests that only small population remained at this village after the 15th century.

In Arabian Peninsula and West Asian countries, the author has been carrying out surveys, a lot of Chinese porcelain and East Asian wares were found

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together with Islamic wares. Excavations at several sites in the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, since 1987, have revealed the same tendency as found in Kottapatnam, namely the decrease of Chinese wares and appearing of the Thai, Myanmar and Vietnamese ceramics in the 15th century. This is usually taken as an effect of the Chinese State policy in foreign trade.

It is interesting to notice, however, that Thai earthenware was also imported in a fairly big amount to Kottapatnam, even though India produced its own local earthenware. In Arabian Peninsula, local unglazed ware, which was made at several kilns in Arabian Peninsula, was commonly used throughout the period, and very few Indian or Pakistan polished ware and East Asian unglazed ware were found there. The reason for the import of a large quantity of Thai earthenware by Kottapatnam should be studied further. A comparative study of the conditions at sites along the Indian Ocean might be useful for such future studies.

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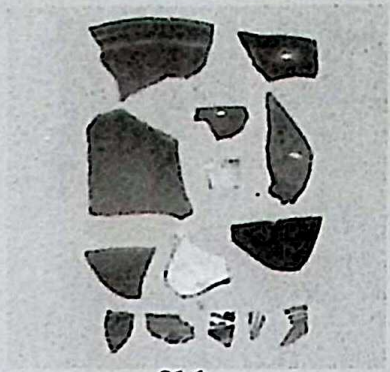
Plate 21



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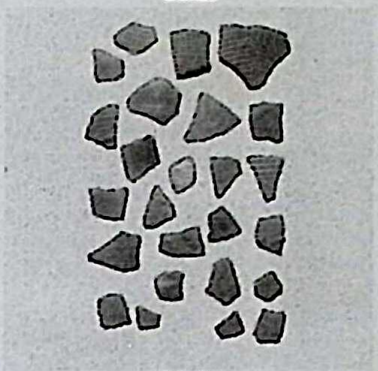

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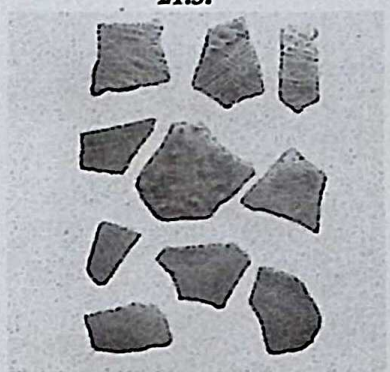

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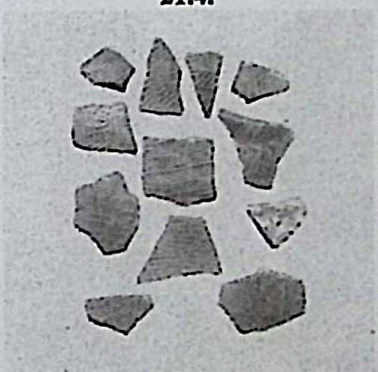

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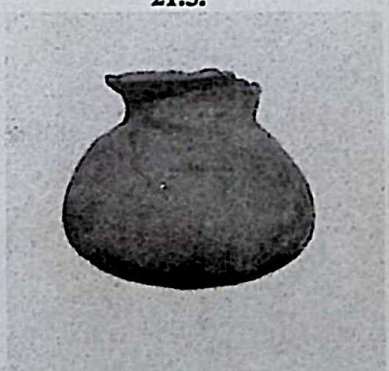

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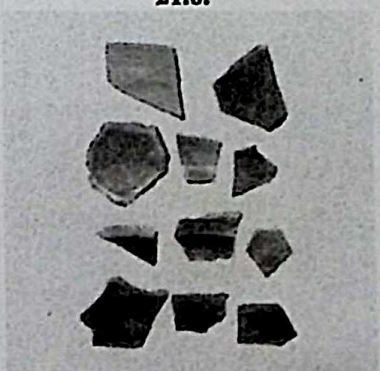

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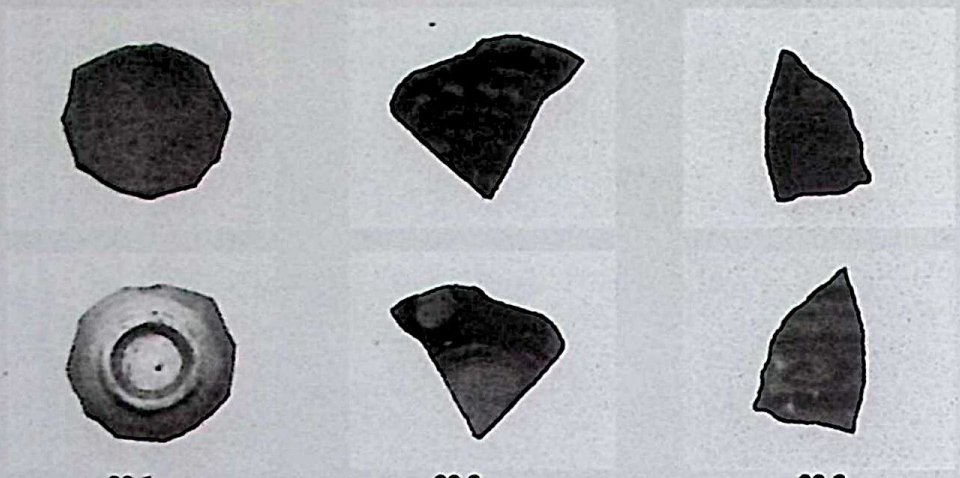
Plate 22



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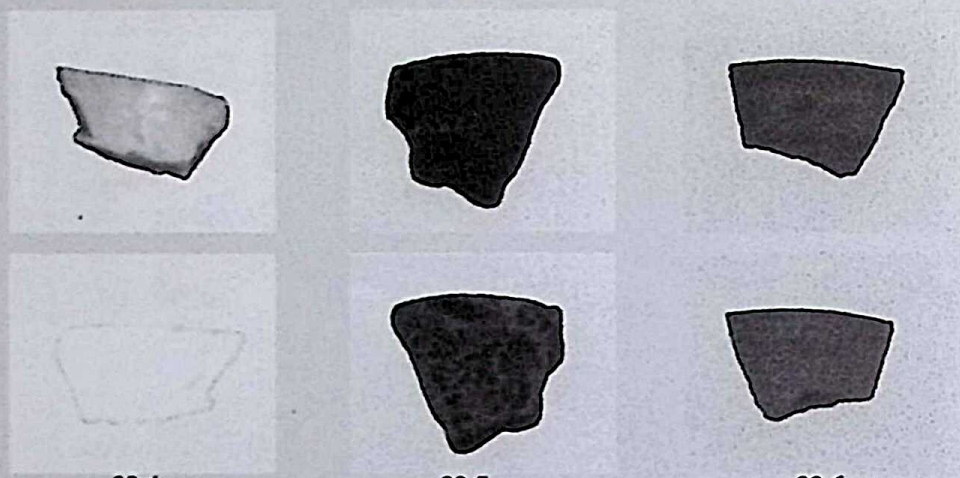
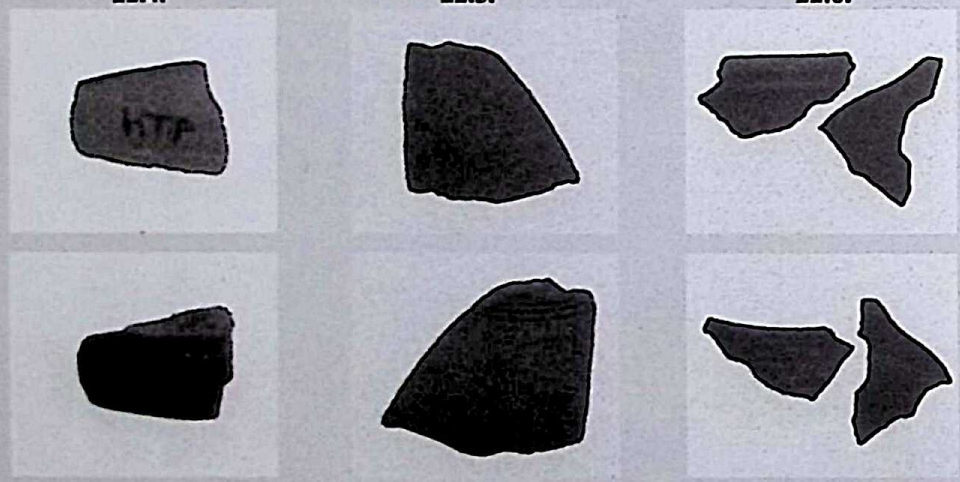


22.4. 22.5. 22.6.



22.7. 22.8. 22.9.

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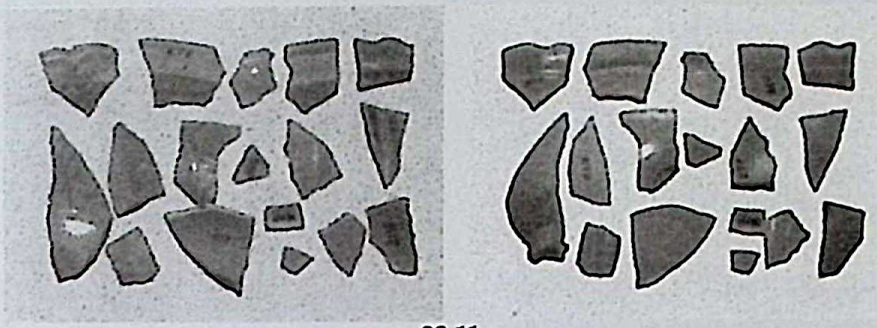
23.10.



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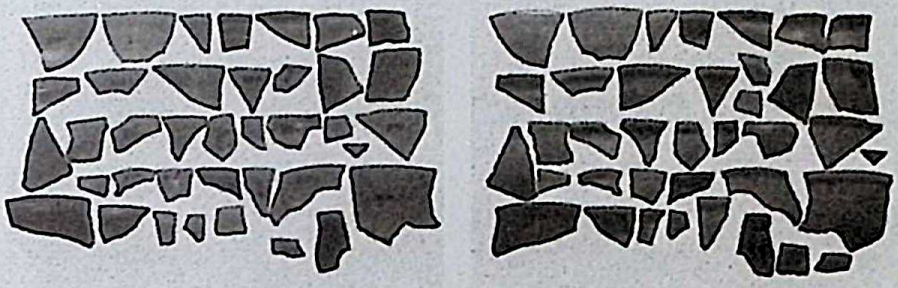

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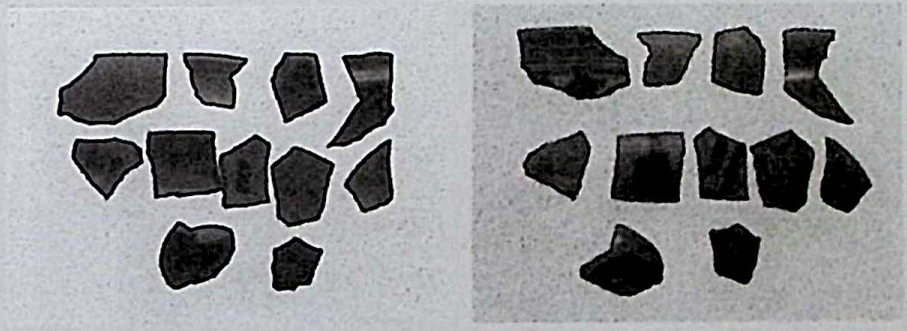

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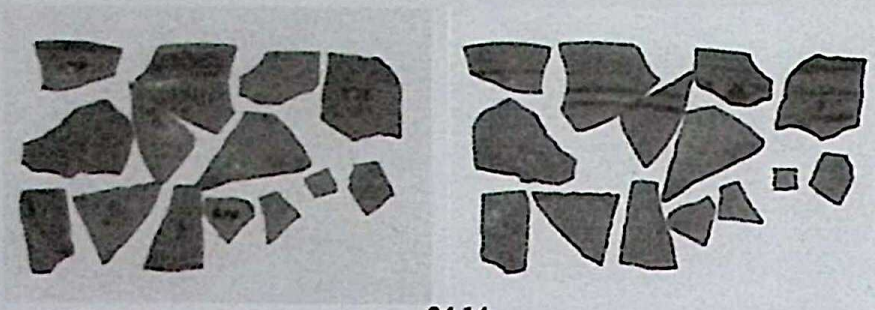

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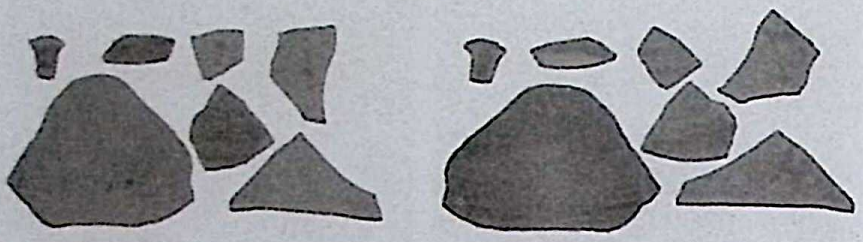

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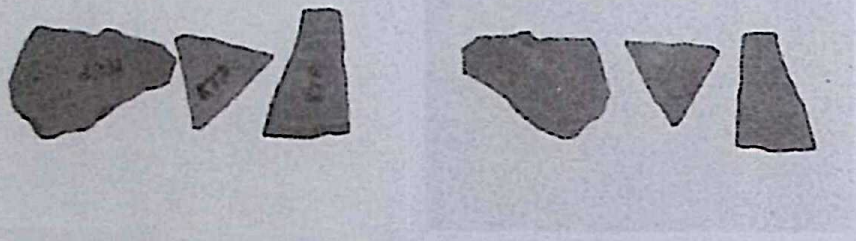

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24.17.

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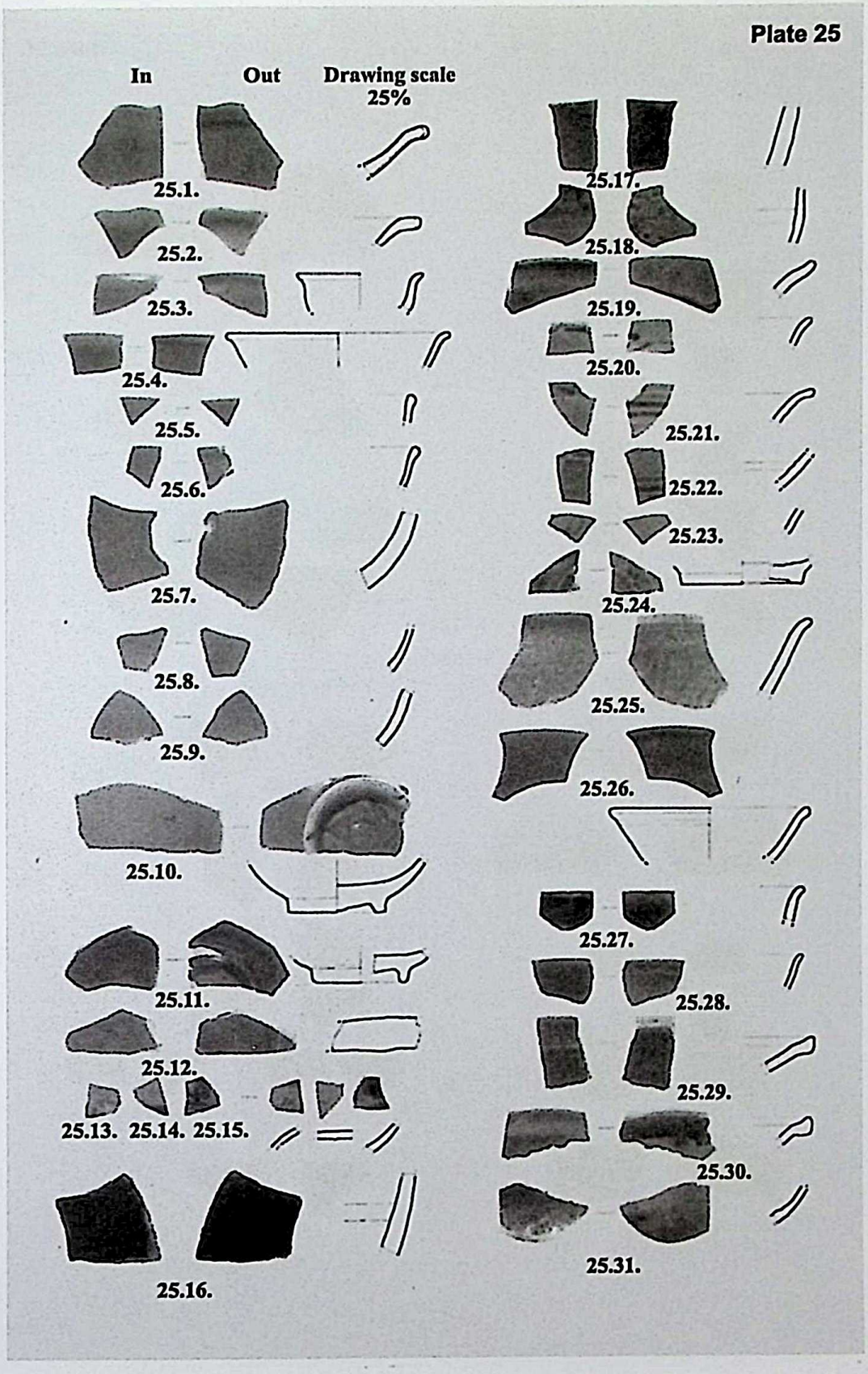

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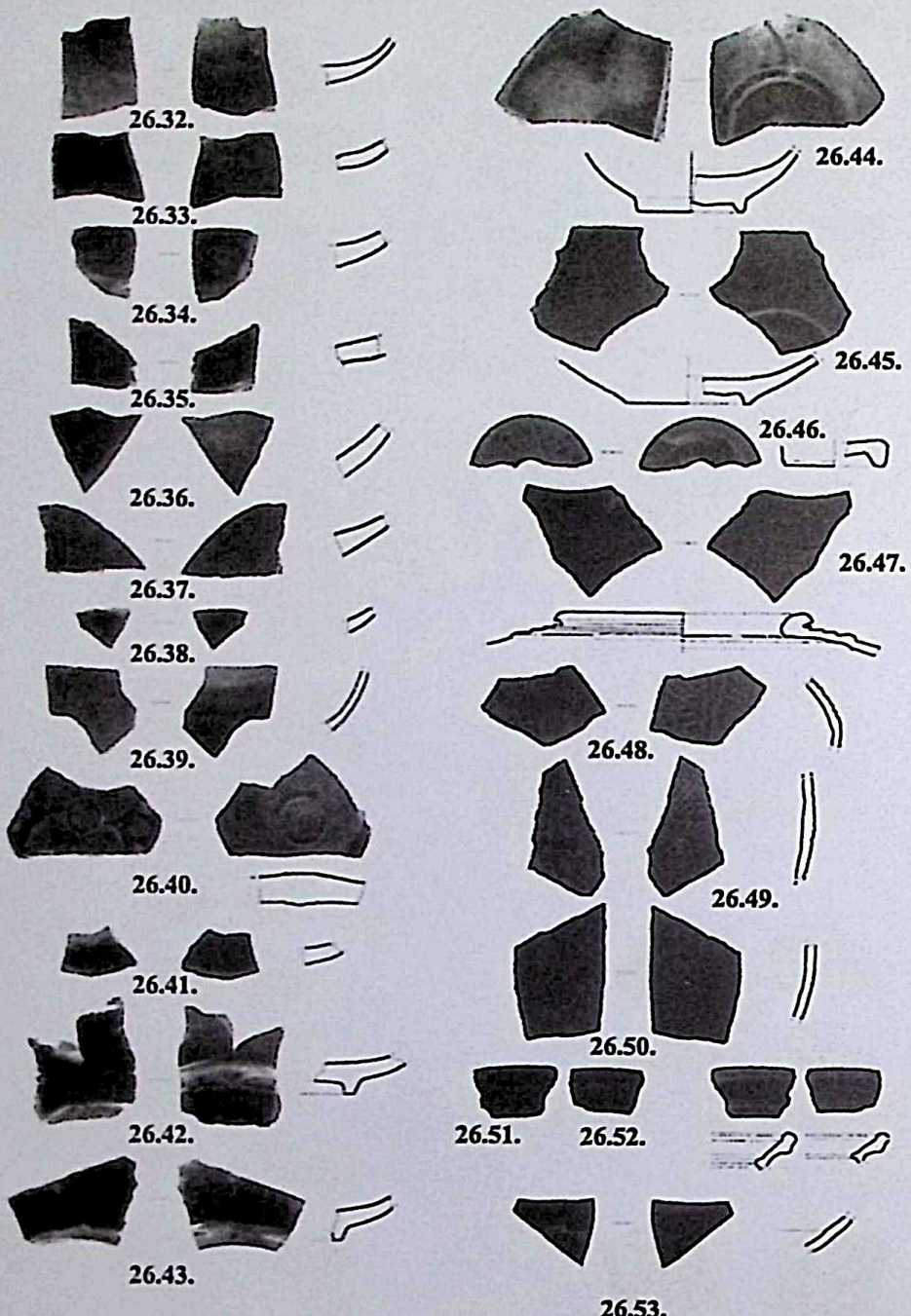
Plate 26



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Part III

Historical Relations

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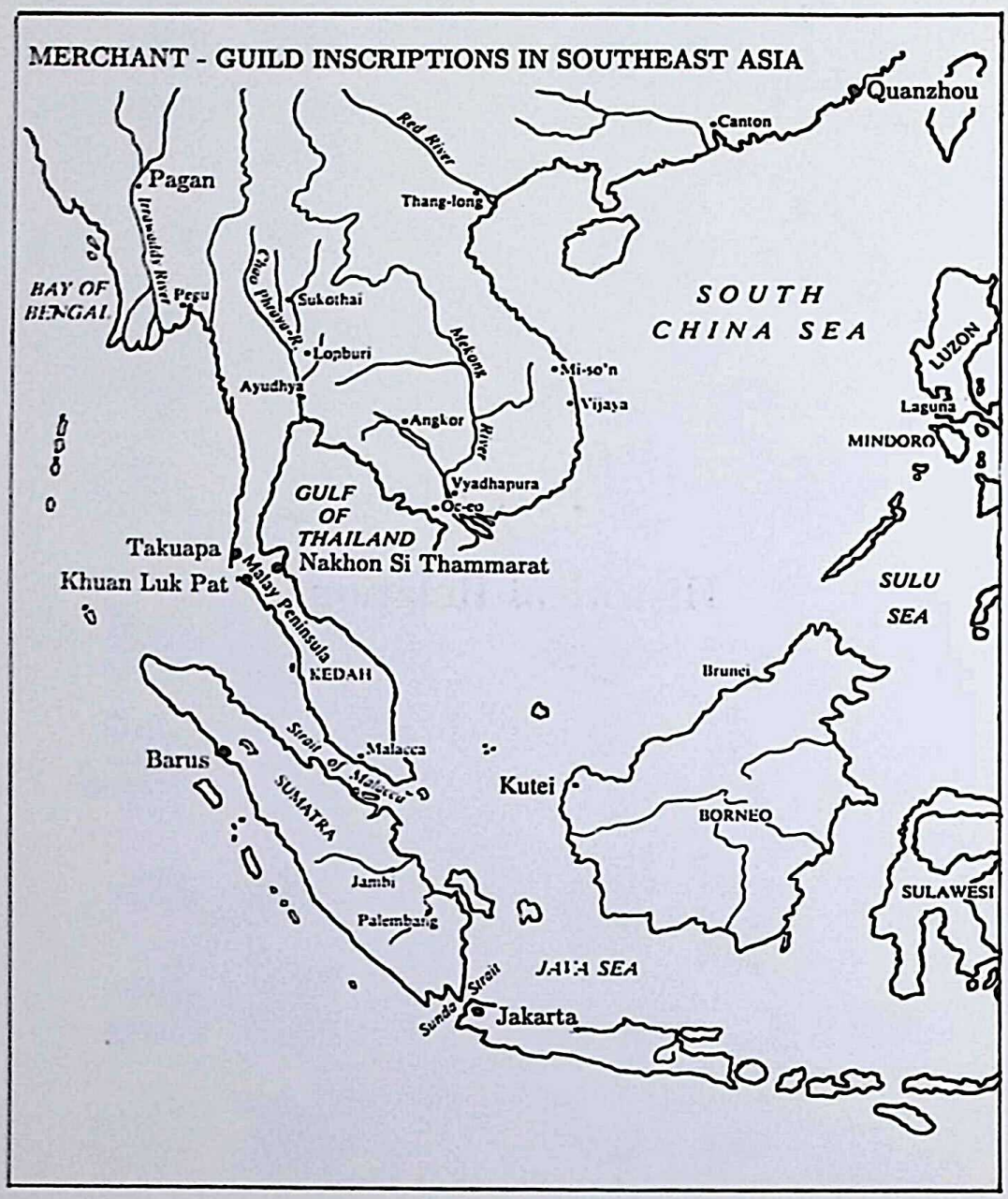

Map 4. Merchant - guild Inscriptions in Southeast Asia

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16

Reconsidering Cultural Intercourse between India and Southeast Asia: An Epigraphical Report

K.V. Ramesh

Earlier writings of historians, particularly those of Indian historians, on the copious archaeological and epigraphical material unearthed in Southeast Asia, based as they were on sentiments of nationalism, had eloquently spoken of colonisation of Southeast Asia by the Indians, of far-flung kingdoms, of a Greater India and of cultural and religious invasion of Southeast Asia by Indian culture and religions. While this trend in history writing had its own utility in pre-Independent India, it was hoped that a factual *in situ* reassessement of those materials at this point of time, with special reference to recent discoveries, would help in greater and more objective understanding and interpretation of the nature, depth and intensity of Indian influence of Southeast Asia. Hereunder is my report which seeks to reassess some of the old epigraphical discoveries and to introduce the recent finds which were examined by us in those parts of Viet Nam, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia which the joint Indo-Japanese team had so far visited.[1] I have also appended to this report the texts and translations of those inscriptions which I have been able to decipher either in full or in part (Appendix 1 below).

[1] Under the auspices of the University of Tokyo and the Department of Culture, Government of Japan, a joint Indo-Japanese project of Archaeological exploration was launched in 1991, under the leadership of Prof. Noboru Karashima, with the avowed objective of 'Reconsidering Cultural Intercourse Between India and Southeast Asia from the 6th through the 15th Centuries AD'. As part of this project three explorations have so far been undertaken, the first one from 20th December 1991 to 9th January 1992, covering parts of Viet Nam and Laos, the second one from 21st December, 1992 to 9th January, 1993, covering parts of Malaysia and Thailand, and the third one from 23rd December, 1993 to 10th January, 1994, covering sites in the three Indonesian Islands of Java, Sumatra and Bali. After the report was written, another survey was made as the fourth one in March 1995 covering parts of Viet Nam and Cambodia.

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Mekong is one of the great rivers of the world and its extensive delta region is a veritable repository of the vestiges of successive human civilizations and cultures from very ancient times. In the southern parts of Viet Nam, where the Mekong and its numerous waterways are the life-line of the people, the team, besides visiting a number of museums, concentrated on sites connected with the ancient Oc-Eo culture which, according to Viet Namese archaeologists, flourished during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era. For a beginning, the team visited the Oc-Eo site proper, near Vangthe at the foot of a solitary hillock. On top of the hillock is a temple, now of a Buddhist affiliation, but believed to be originally a Brāhmaṇical temple. Embedded in the wall, right under the altar presently seating a Buddhist image, is a slab containing a Sanskrit inscription (Appendix 1, no. 1) in late Southern Indian Brāhmi characters of about the 6th–7th century AD. This partly built-in inscription records the construction of a brick temple (*bhavana*) on top of the hill by a certain Kṛishṇa, for the god Varddhamāna and for the merit of King Ādityadēva. It also records the gift of twenty servants to the temple by the queen-mother, described as *tapasvinī* (female ascetic); she also gifted two residential quarters (*vāsa-dvaya*) for Māyādhara, to facilitate her easy passage to the world hereafter and for the welfare of Brāhmaṇas. The inscription ends with a curse on those who would dare take away the servants gifted to the temple.

Though Vardhamāna is popularly understood to be the name of Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, and though it also occurs as the name of the Buddha in Buddhist parlance, it was also one of the names of Vishṇu.

This inscription is an excellent example of the synthesis of all the major religious faiths of India no sooner than they entered Southeast Asia. The god Vishṇu is not only mentioned as Vardhamāna in this inscription but also as Māyādhara, i.e. Vishṇu (Dhara) with his attributes of nine *śaktis* or energies (*māyā*). At the same time his dynamism is likened to the cosmic dance of the god Śiva and his is also described as *Achintya*, another name of Śiva.

The Oc-Eo site was first excavated in the fifties by the French archaeologist Louis Mallaret. Since then Viet Namese archaeologists have excavated many more sites in the Mekong delta and have brought to light interesting antiquities pertaining to the Oc-Eo and subsequent cultures. They are mostly displayed in the Museum at Long Xien. Among important finds is a set of nearly one dozen tiny, squarish, thin, gold leaves with embossed figures with identification labels, written in Sanskrit and 6th–7th century late southern Indian Brāhmi characters, reading Āditya (Sun), Chandrahāsa (Moon), Aṅgāra (Mars), Buddha (Budha, Mercury), Bṛihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (Venus), Sanīśvara (Saturn), which account for seven of the nine deified planets (*nava-grahas*) and Vṛishabha (the bull, Śiva's vehicle), Vṛishabha-dhvaja (the bull-bannered god, i.e., Śiva), Vajra (Indra's thunderbolt) and Triśūla (Śiva's trident). They were, in all probability, votive offerings, made by devotees, at a Brāhmaṇical shrine, probably dedicated to Śiva, with a subshrine for the *nava-grahas*.

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A much later, rectangular gold leaf (Plate 27), with writing in characters of about the 8th-9th century AD and containing the Buddha's exposition of the aṭṭaṅgika-magga or the eight-fold path for attaining salvation from misery, was unearthed, during excavations, in one of the underground chambers of one of the ruined Buddhist establishment of yore at Go Xoai, also an Oc-Eo culture site. The language employed is Prakrit, betraying considerable Sanskrit influence. But what really interests an epigraphist in this case is the script which has already developed prominent regional characteristics. The simultaneous use of two types 'la' and 'na' illustrates the mingling of north and south Indian strains of Brāhmi in an otherwise predominantly south Indian scriptal derivative.

The text of this gold plate (Appendix 1 no. 2), engraved in five lines, commences with the well known Buddhist creed *yē dharmmā hētu prabhavā*, etc. (line 1). Verse 2 (line 2) in *Anushṭubh* metre states that action begets misery and that this misery could be overcome the noble eightfold path is evolved to alleviate this suffering.[2] The text in the next three lines betrays that Buddhism, as practised at that time and at the site, was highly influenced by Tāntric elements. This plate is now deposited in the Tan An Museum.

Before proceeding to Laos from Vietnam, I may discuss one out of several inscriptions which we had phtographed in the Ho chi Minh city Museum. This is a bilingual inscription (Appendix 1, no. 3), the first eight lines being in Sanskrit and the remaining lengthy text being in local dialect. The eight lines in Sanskrit contain one verse in *Sārdūlavikṛīdita* metre (lines 1–4) in praise of Śiva and two verses in *anushṭubh* (lines 5–8), which record the constitution of a delimited territory with a holy place and a garden or grove for the development of an alms-house, by Bhōja, the younger brother of the lord of Rudrapuri, in the Śaka year 561 (=AD 639). Śiva is referred to in line 4 as Vīrēśvara, obviously after the name of Vīrēśvara who had in all probability, installed the deity. This king Vīrēśvara was obviously the same as the 'lord of Rudrapuri' and elder brother of Bhoja. The Grantha form of 'ṇa' suggests that the script had been derived from the southern Indian variety as was in use in the Pallava territory of south India at that time. The Śaka year 561 is mentioned in chronogram as *rūpa*(1)-*shaḍ*(6)-*bāṇa*(5)which, as per the rule *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ* works out to 561.

The long text in local dialect, which is separated from the eight lines of Sanskrit by two horizontal lines and the figure of a *śūla* in relief, obviously records the full details of the pious act of Bhōja. This reminds one of a similar situation in south India where, in early and medieval inscriptions, the formal text in Sanskrit is followed by the operative part in the local dialect, Kannada, Telugu or Tamil, sometimes with a note of clarification such as

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[2] The eight *aṅgas* are: (1) right views (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), (2) right thoughts (*sammā-saṅkappo*), (3) right speech (*sammā-vācā*), (4) right actions (*sammā-kammanto*), (5) right living *sammā-ājīvo*), (6) right exertion (*sammā-vāyāmo*), (7) right recollection (*sammā-sati*) and (8) right meditation (*sammā-samādhi*).

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likhyatē dēsa-bhāshayā (i.e., the operative part is written in the local language) or *likhyatē Karnāṭa-bhāshayā*, etc. Since this is not a lone instance, we may safely conclude that, as in south India, in Southeast Asia too Sanskrit was only the language of the courts and of the elite minority, meant for a more formal than effective employment.

Our next target were the ruins of the great temple at Vat Phu in Laos. On the way to Vat Phu from the town of Pakse is the district town of Champassak where, within the compound of the residence of the erstwhile prince of Champassak, is set up an inscribed stone pillar (Plate 27), the existence of which had been known for quite sometime, but which has not so far received sufficient attention.[3] The 64 lines of the inscriptional text (Appendix 1 no. 4) are equally distributed on four dressed sides of the pillar. The entire composition is in Sanskrit, mostly in verse with one fairly long passage in prose, and the script employed is late southern Indian Brāhmī of about the 5th–6th century AD.

The text commences with a verse in the *Sragdharā* metre (lines 1–4) which is illegible in parts and hence defies full translation. But, from whatever could be transcribed, we may safely conclude that it is an introductory verse recording the creation of the statute of welfare through which the king had established a holy pilgrimage centre dedicated to all the gods, but principally for the brāhmaṇical trinity Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, for the salvation of those plunged into the depths of worldly existence and for his own emancipation. Lines 5–16 contain the prose passage in which *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvānīka *alias* Maṅgala is introduced with a string of epithets which reveal that he was brought hither by the east-facing god Liṅgaparvata from a distant land (*dūra-dēsāt*) and installed in great regal splendour *mahati rājy-aiśvaryē adhishṭhitaḥ* (lines 12–13), that he was anointed with the blessings of all the gods including Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā (lines 5-6) and that, all his actions having been characterised by the piety and righteousness acquired previously, he was a man of superhuman feats. These epithets further compare him with Yudhīshṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, in righteousness, with Bhagīratha, who brought the Gaṅga down to earth, in kingly benevolence, with Arjuna in putting down enemies, with Indradyumna in the performance of numerous Vedic rituals, with the king Śibi in liberality, with the god Vishṇu in his favourable disposition towards Brāhmaṇas, with Kanaka Pāṇḍya in safeguarding justice, with the great ocean in profundity (of character) and with Mount Mēru in firmness. While most of the above discriptive epithets merely go to show that the composer was well versed with the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata* as well as *purāṇic* episodes, the reference to Kanaka Pāṇḍya and his great respect for justice is of considerable interest. The ubiquitous Pāṇḍyas ruled over some parts of south India during the early and medieval periods and the most ancient and known

[3] This inscription was published and commented upon by G. Coedes in 1956.—'Nouvelles donnes sur les origines du royaume Khmer: La stele de Vat Luong Kau pres de Vat Phu', *BEFEO*, XLVIII, 1956, pp. 209–20.

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family ruled over a kingdom in the south-eastern tip of the Indian peninsula. The name Kanaka Pāṇḍya immediately recalls to one's mind the name Poṟkai-Pāṇḍya who figures in the Tamil classic *Silappadikāram* of the fifth century AD as the Pāṇḍya king cutting off his own hand in order to safeguard justice. Because of this noble gesture Poṟ(kai)pāṇḍya or, in Sanskrit, Kanaka-Pāṇḍya must have come to be called Poṟkai-Pāṇḍya or, Kanaka-hasta-Pāṇḍya. Lines 17–64, engraved at the rate of 16 lines on each of the three remaining faces of the pillar, are almost all of them in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The lone identifiable exception, verse 10 (lines 30–32) at the end of face 2, is in *Mālinī* metre and contains the important information that the king Dēvānīka had established a holy place called Gaṅgaka, nostalgicaly and repeatedly referred elsewhere in the inscription as Kurukshētra, on this earth in a territory cleansed by the flow of holy waters.

Rest of the text is devoted to the praise of Kurukshētra, by which was obviously meant not only the famous holy place of that name in north India, but also the Gaṅgaka-kshētra established by Dēvānika, as being highly efficacious in heaping divine blessings and merit on pious devotees. A point of great historical interest is that verses 18, 19 and 20, occurring in lines 43–48 of our inscription, occur in exactly the same form in the *Araṇya-parva* of the famous epic *Mahābhārata* thereby confirming that at least that part of the epic is not later in date than the 5th-6th century AD

Again, on the way to Vat Phu from Champassak, we were shown two stone pedestals, both of them carrying inscriptions in typical Pallava Grantha characters of about the 7th century AD. We were told that the inscriptions were dug out as recently as in 1990–91 but we could not copy them for want of time. One of them records the installation of a stone *vṛishabha* or bull in memory of his paternal uncle (*pitṛivya*) Kṛitāntapāsa by Chitrasēna *alias* Mahēndravarman, the son of the emperor (*sārvabhauma*) Vīravarman and the younger brother of Bhavavarman. The other inscription records the installation of a stone bull in memory of his father Vīravarman by the same prince.

For three weeks in 1992–93, we covered parts of Malaysia and Thailand. At Bukit Martajam in Ber Surat, Malaysia we copied an inscription (Appendix 1, no. 5) in one line containing nine bold letters, in typical 7th century southern Indian characters, reading *prathamē vayasi n-ādhītē* in Sanskrit which literally means 'not studied in one's youth (or early years)'. This rather puzzling declaration is, perhaps, a confession on the part of some migrant Brāhmaṇa that he had neglected his Vedic studies during the years when he should not have done so.

Thailand yielded a rich haul of inscriptions, the texts of most of which have already been competently read and published, but in Thai script with copious explanatory writings in Thai language. In the Rajaburi District Museum we saw quite a few clay votive tablets with the well known Buddhist creed *yēdhammā hētu prabhavā*, etc. In the Khao Ngu caves in Rajaburi District, at

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the foot of a fairly huge Buddhist image is an inscription (Appendix 1 no. 6 and Plate 27) in 6th–7th century southern Indian characters. Its text has been read earlier as *puña karamajraḥ srī-samādhigupta(ḥ)*. After bestowing considerable thought and attention, I have come to the conclusion that the intended reading may, rather, be *puñakara ma[ṁ]ju[śrī] samādhi gu[ṁ]phā* which would mean 'the cave in which the righteous Mañjusrī meditated'. We know that in Buddhism *samādhi* is the fourth and last stage of *dhyāna* or intense abstract meditation.

This inscription is an instance on hand to argue that the script, largely imported from southern India, had been transformed to suit local needs and phonetics very early in Southeast Asian history. In this connection I may draw the readers' attention to two fragmentary inscriptions in the Bangkok National Museum which go to further confirm the early adaptation of southern Indian script to the needs of local phonetics.

At the Wat Boromothat (Nakhon-Si-Tammarat) Museum—a private establishment—we saw an inscription ((Appendix 1 no. 7) in one line, in 6th–7th century southern Indian characters reading *Tamarāya Tjōgēśvaraḥ*. Tamarāya is obviously the ancient name of Tammarat which is today, through some popular misconception, rendered in Thai as *Dharmarāja*. Tjōgēśvara obviously stands for Jōgēśvara from Yōgēśvara, perhaps the name of a god. The spelling of Jō as Tjō reminds us of the peculiar Andhra pronunciation of j as dj.

We selectively copied a few inscriptions from the large collection available in the epigraphical section of the National Museum at Bangkok. One of them (Appendix 1 no. 8), damaged, and in Sanskrit verse and southern Indian characters of about the 6th century AD, is one more early evidence of the popularity of the Indian epics in Southeast Asia, this time the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The single, partly available *anushṭubh* verse seeks to compare two brothers in ancient Thailand, Rāma and Kēśava, with the epic hero Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa. The second line reading *Rāma-Kēśavayōr-yadvad Rāma-Lakshmaṇayōr-iva* reminds us of *Rāma-Lakshmaṇayōr-yuddhaṁ Rama-Lakshmaṇayōr-iva*.

Another inscription (Appendix 1 no. 9), in local variety of southern Indian script with Pallava Grantha overtones, is in praise of the king Jayasiṁhavarmmā and records the excavation of a water reservoir (*jālāsaya*) in a single day in order to facilitate the worship of the Śiva-liṅga when that king had camped at a spot for capturing Sūrapura. The king is eulogised as having ensured the comfort, terror and happiness respectively of the citizens, rival kings and supplicants by his acts of protection, valour and liberality. These two verses in *āryā* metre are preceded and succeeded by writings in the local dialect.

A fragmentary inscription (Appendix 1 no. 10), with writing lost on top and bottom and on the left and right sides as well, which, therefore, cannot be

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satisfactorily translated and understood, seems to provide one more example of the synthesis of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist faiths not long after their arrival from India. This inscription speaks of a building where [Prajñā]pāramitā was worshipped and which had provision for circumambulation, eating hall, medicine house, etc. and where also groups of Brāhmaṇas performing vedic rituals as prescribed by the great Agasti were fed. The inscription also contains the description of the image of a female deity as being worshipped with incense and lamps, as wearing a garland, as being fanned with *chāmara* and as being clad with Chinese silk.

We also copied the well known Saṅkaratataḍāka inscription (Appendix 1 no. 11) of the king Mahēndravarman. This inscription briefly records, in a single anushṭubh verse, the excavation of a water reservoir (*jal-āsaya*) named Saṅkara-taḍāka by the king Mahēndravarmmā who is eulogised as being as famous as Mahēndra, i.e., the Lord of the gods himself.

This year, i.e., during three weeks in 1993–94, we explored parts of the Sumatra, Java and Bali islands of Indonesia. Displayed in the S.M. Badruddin Provincial Museum of Palembang in south Sumatra are a few stones of different and irregular shapes, all of them inscribed with the same text (Plate 28 and Appendix 1 no. 12–16). Though none of these inscriptions is complete, the simple text could be reconstructed with the help of the surviving letters in those different stones as *jaya-siddhayātrā sarvva-sattvānāṁ hita-sukhāya* (or *sukh-ārthaṁ*) i.e. 'this successfully accomplished voyage is for the good and happiness of all living beings'. Similar stones, with parts of the above text preserved, are also on display in the epigraphical gallery of the National Museum in the Indonesian capital Jakarta.[4] I am almost sure that these unworked stones were meant to be tied to ropes and thrown into shallow sea waters to steady and anchor the boats after successful completion of each voyage from the shores of India. These stones are indicative of the anxiety and fear generated by voyage across the seas. In spite of the fact that India has a long coast line on the east as well as west, Indians had never displayed interest in sea-faring activities and in building and plying their own ships, as can be inferred from the loud silence about the seas in Indian inscriptions, except in conventional contexts. These inscribed anchor stones are thus, according to me, illustrative of Indian diffidence towards sea voyages beyond mere cruising along the coasts. We may also notice the fact that the thanks-giving is secular in spirit though the wording is Buddhist-inspired.

At Jambi, to the northwest of Palembang, we examined two very thin gold plates in the Office of the Department of Archaeology. They contain very imperfect and carelessly engraved, what could really be described as thumbnail, scratchings, of the well known Buddhist creed *yē dharmā hētu-prabhavā*, etc., in proto-Gauḍīya or north-east Indian characters of about the 9th century

[4] On *Siddhayātra*, see also, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South India and South-east Asia*, Geetha Book House, Mysore, 1978, pp. 213–219.

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AD (Appendix 1 no. 17–18). Even the spelling is influenced by north-eastern pronunciation as in *jē dharmā* for *yē dharṃā*, and *jēvaṁ* for *ēvaṁ*.

The Jakarta National Museum is a veritable store-house of all types of inscriptions including (1) gold leaves of different sizes and thickness, containing the Buddhist creed *yē dharmā*, etc., (2) images with identification labels in Nāgarī characters of the 11th-12th centuries AD, (3) a large number of stone inscriptions in the Epigraphy section and (4) a fairly large number of copper-plate inscriptions in local dialect and local script of Indian origin, collected from different parts of Indonesia, ranging in date from early 9th century AD onwards. Of the stone inscriptions which we either copied or studied in the Museum, I may briefly discuss here the importance of the seven Sanskrit inscriptions (Plate 28 and Appendix 1 no. 19–25) of the king Mūlavarman, all of them palaeographically assignable to the 5th century AD. Four of these are already well known while the other three are not so. All the seven inscriptions attest to the great zeal and gusto with which Mūlavarman promoted the Brāhmaṇical faith and Vedic and post-Vedic Brāhmaṇical rituals in his kingdom under his direct patronage. This could lead one to believe that Mūlavarman, like Maṅgala or Dēvānīka of the Champassak inscription, may have had an Indian origin. My view, however, is to the contrary and I base that on one of his seven inscriptions in which he describes himself as the eldest (or the most excellent) son of Asvavarmā who was himself the son of the king Kuṇḍuṅga. The non-Sanskritic name Kuṇḍunga and the highly Sanskritic names of his successors Asvavarmā and Mūlavarmā are comparable to a similar situation in the Bagh region of Madhya pradesh, India, during the Gupta period (4th–5th centuries AD). In that region, a native family of ruling chieftains was set on course by one Bhuluṇḍa whose name is as non-Sanskritic as that of Kuṇḍuṅga. But once the family came under the influence of the Gupta emperor the successors of Bhuluṇḍa assumed such highly Sanskritic names as Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa, Bhaṭṭāraka, Nāgabhaṭa, etc.

On this analogy, I conclude that Kuṇḍuṅga must have been a native Indonesian and that he and/or his successors must have come under the influence of the Brāhmaṇical faiths. Of them Mūlavarman appears to have been a stricter and more enthusiastic follower of the Brāhmaṇical faith, for, in one of his inscriptions, he claims to have been what Bhagīratha was to Sagara in the matter of ensuring the religious salvation of his ancestors. It is also likely that Mūlavarman's addiction to the Brāhmaṇical rituals and his munificence prompted Brāhmaṇa migrations, either from other Southeast Asian kingdoms or from the shores of India. Compare such claims as *viprair-nnānā-gōtrair-ih-āgataiḥ* (i.e. by Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gōtra*s who had come hither) and *viprair-ih-āgataiḥ* (by Brāhmaṇas who had come hither) occurring in his inscriptions. We may also conclude that in those early days migrant Brāhmaṇas had carried with them details of some of the ritualistic gifts, which had subsequently gone out of vogue in India itself. For, gifts such as *tila-parvata*, *ghṛita-dhēnu* and *jala-dhēnu*, mentioned in Mūlavarman's in-

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scriptions, are no longer known in India as ritualistic gifts and even lexicons do not provide worthwhile explanations. Nevertheless, since *tila* or sesamum is associated with religious ablutions to ensure salvation of one's deceased ancestors, Mūlavarman's claim of gifting *tila-parvata* or a 'mountain of sesamum' may be related to his claim that he was comparable to Bhagīratha in procuring salvation for his dead ancestors.

There are a few more Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions from Thailand to be considered here. Displayed on the wall of the National Museum in the city of Nakhon-Si-Tammarat are the estampages of three inscriptions (Appendix 1 no. 26–28) found at the village Ban Khlong Thon in the province of Nakhon-si-Tammarat. One of them, in one line, in Sanskrit language and 7th century southern Indian characters, reads *Śrī-Vidyādhikārasya* i.e., of the illustrious Vidyādhikāra. We have no means of knowing anything more about this person. I may, however, venture to suggest that he may be the composer of the two metrical epigraphical compositions from the same village. The second of them, also in 7th century southern Indian characters, is a single verse in *upajāti* metre and is in the form of a poignant appeal to the lord of the forests and the gods to yield benefit to them, who are not identified but who are stated to have taken recourse to the forest in search of sustenance. I have a feeling that this verse alludes to the *vanavāsa*, either of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sīta, or of the Pāṇḍava brothers and Draupadī with a poignant trace of the forlorn feelings of Brāhmaṇical migrants from the shores of India to Southeast Asia. The third inscription consists of two *anushṭubh* verses and seems to invoke the blessings of the good men of the land chosen for inhabitation. The significance of this inscription is even more difficult to conjecture.

A much worn-out inscription (Appendix 1 no. 29) on a slab preserved in the Bangkok National Museum is in Prakrit language, in southern Indian characters of the 7th century AD, with a slant in favour of Pallava-grantha, and merely records the Buddhist creed *yē dhammā hētu prabhavā*, etc. As a matter of fact Thailand abounds in inscriptions which record this Buddhist creed during different centuries, not only on stone and metals but also on terracotta objects. There are also interesting stone objects on which the *dhamma-chakka* text is engraved in the 7th century as well as later characters. In fact, a concentrated study of all such Buddhist inscriptions belonging to different centuries from Southeast Asian countries will greatly help in having a clear picture of the import and development and different strains of Indian scripts from time to time.

Yet another inscription we copied in the National Museum at Bangkok is the so-called Ligor inscription (Appendix 1 no. 30),[5] engraved on two faces of a long slab (Plate 28), the front containing 29 lines and the back four lines. The inscription on the back stops abruptly after the fourth line. The language

[5] For the historical importance of this inscription, see G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, ed. Walter F. Vella and tr. Susan B. Cowing, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1968, p. 84.

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employed for composing the text is Sanskrit and the script is the southern Indian variety with predominant Pallava-grantha features. The entire text appears to be composed in verse though I have been able to identify with certainty the metres of only six verses. The rest of the composition appears to be in *ardha-sama vṛitta* of a rare type.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 697 corresponding to AD 775, and contains a glorious description of the king (of) Srīvijaya (lines 1–16) in which the composer has taken recourse to all possible poetic conventions. Lines 16–19 reocrd the construction of a brick *chaitya* triad dedicated to Padmapaṇi, the Buddha and Vajrapāṇi. Under the king's instructions, Jayanta, the royal *sthavira*, caused three *stūpa*s to be built. After his demise, his disciple, Vimukti-sthavira got a twin *chaitya* built of bricks very near the *chaitya* triad. The single verse in four lines, on the back side of the slab is in praise of the Sailēndra king. However, after this verse the text comes to a sudden halt with an incomplete sentence.

This inscription attests to hectic constructional activities by the patrons of Buddhism in the 8th century Thailand. Other inscriptions and archaeological monuments speak of the same trend in the other centuries as well. The reasons for this perhaps lie in the fact that the Thai kingdoms were heavily dependent upon trade revenues for economic stability and the brunt of overseas trade was in the hands of venturesome Buddhist merchants.

In my writings on Indian epigraphy, whenever occasions had so warranted, I had always argued that the extreme south of India, comprising the Tamil country and Kerala in pre-13th century India, should be treated as a separate palaeographical and epigraphical zone which differs on many vital issues from the rest of the sub-continent. In these three years of Southeast Asian peregrinations, I have come to the conclusion that this distinct identity has been retained even in the Tamil inscriptions which we have so far come across in Thailand and Indonesia.

While speaking of Southeast Asian Tamil inscriptions, the most exciting and important one, which, in the academic sense, is a new discovery and happens to be one of the earliest stone inscriptions of Southeast Asia in any language, is the one, in two lines and consisting of eight letters, engraved on a small, oblong worked-out piece of fine grained schist (Plate 1). This important stone is kept on display in the local Abbot's Museum called Phra Kru Athan Sankarakit Museum at Khuan Luk Pat, Khlong Thom District, Krabi Province, Thailand. The script used is what may be legitimately called Tamil Brāhmī of the third century AD and the text reads: *perum-pataṉ kal* which may be translated as 'the [touch] stone of the great goldsmith'. Perumpataṉ (*perum* = great, *patan* > *pattaṉ* = goldsmith) as an officially conferred title or designation for a senior artisan is an all-India feature and occurs in Sanskrit as *mahāsuvarṇakāra* (*mahā* = *perum* and *suvarṇakara* = goldsmith). In a way, the commercial nature of this stone, which obviously hints at the mi-

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gration and settlement of a goldsmith in southern Thailand, very close to the Malaysian border, sets the tone for the letter and spirit of the other Southeast Asian Tamil inscriptions which we had occasions to study.[6] In the collection of the same museum, there are on display seals (Appendix 1 no. 32–34) reading *Achalasēnasya* (the seal of Achalasēna), *Vithittakasya* (the seal of Vithittaka), *Bamhaṇandisa* (the seal of Bamhaṇandi) and *dātavyan* ('to be paid', perhaps with reference to some trade cess), all of which go to show that that place was an active commercial centre.

The overall impression I gathered from a comparative study of the contents of the Tamil inscription discussed above and a few others discussed by Karashima in a previous article[7] was that the Tamilian presence in Southeast Asia was primarily commercial in nature and interests and that any political over-tones which could be discerned in their activities were more or less incidental. Viewed in this light, the maritime military exertions of the Cholas, so much spoken about in their own records, must have had the primary purpose of ensuring unhindered and unthreatened trade between the Tamil country and the Southeast Asian kingdoms and, secondarily, as is claimed, again, in their own records, for booty in the course of rapid raids. Similarly, the presence of other Indian elements, in whatever role, be they princes, Brāhmaṇas, traders or artisans, must have resulted from the customary, age-old law of succession which prevented those who followed the first son in the Hindu family, however personally accomplished they may be, from enjoying the fruits of parental or hereditary wealth and status. Maṅgala *alias* Dēvānika was perhaps one such. At any rate, the percentage of Indian migrants physically present at any given time in the Southeast Asian kingdoms appears to have been small if not negligible and it was only local royal patronage which enabled Indian religious, cultural, linguistic and, more importantly, scriptal elements to seep generously into the Southeast Asian social fabric.

In conclusion, a few words about the palaeographical history of Indian inspired Southeast Asian scripts. There is a belief in some scholarly circles that the dating of any given undated pre-Islamic Southeast Asian inscription on grounds of palaeographical features should be a little later than scriptally exactly similar inscriptions in India, allowing for lapse of time in scriptal changes travelling from India to Southeast Asian shores. After my study of Southeast Asian inscriptions, I am unable to agree with such an opinion. I strongly believe that such palaeographical developments have run on parallel lines. This was perhaps largely due to the successive migration, under hope of royal patronage, of educated Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist clergy as well as educated as well organised members of trade guilds who must have carried with them to the Southeast Asian shores the latest of what was Indian in their days, including scriptal changes. Such migrations need not have been numerically significant in so far as they were qualitatively penetrative.

[6] See also Chapter 2 on this point.

[7] See Chapter 2 for the details of other Tamil inscriptions.

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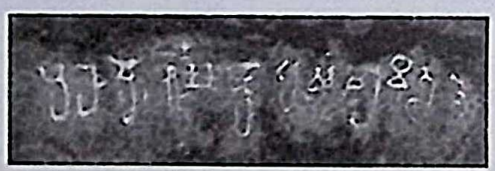
27.1. Gold Leaf Inscription, Go Xoai, Viet Nam

27.2. Inscription from Champassak, Loas

27.3. Buddha Image, Khao Ngu Cave, Thailand



27.4. Inscription at the pedestal of the Buddha Image

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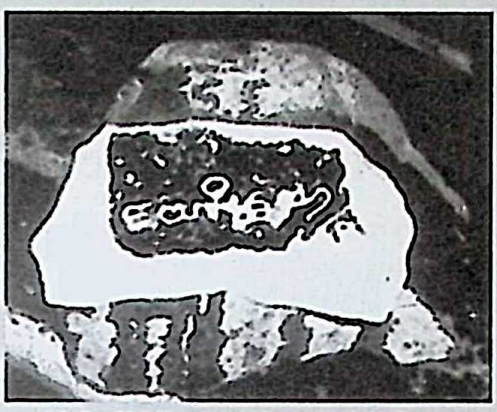
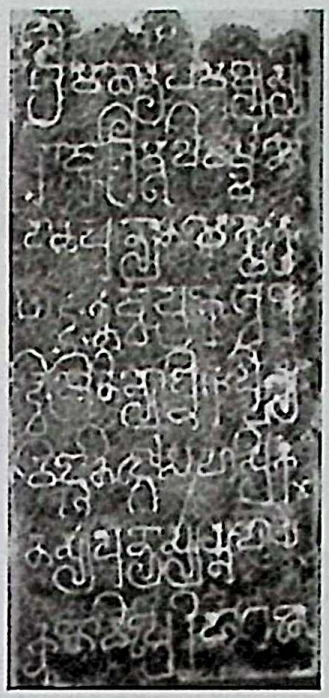


28.5. Siddhayatra inscription from Palembang, Indonesia



28.6. Inscription of Mulavarman, Jakarta, Indonesia

28.7. Ligor Inscription (front Side) Thailand

28.8. Ligor Inscription (back side), Thailand

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Pondicherry in Chinese Sources

N. Karashima

I shall discuss here the possibility of identifying some place-names appearing in Chinese sources relating to Pondicherry. Although many people are aware of the identification of Poduke of Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* with Pondicherry, none of them seems to have claimed to find its counterpart in Chinese sources. However, as many Chinese sherds are discovered in Arikamedu, it may not be strange to find a mention of Pondicherry in some Chinese sources at least after the tenth century. Although *Zhufan Zhi*, a description of foreign countries and trade articles in the thirteenth century, gives mention to the Chola country as Chu-nien and *Daoyi Zhilue*, a description of southern sea countries in the fourteenth century, to Nagapattinam as Tuta[1] and Periyapattinam on the Coromandel coast as Dabadan,[2] they do not seem to mention Pondicherry. Neither does *Yingya Shenglan*, which is another description of southern sea countries in the fifteenth century. However, Ma'bar, the long coastal area extending from the boundary of the Ju-lan (Kollam) kingdom on the Malabar coast to Nellore on the Coromandel coast according to Wassaf,[3] which corresponds to the Pandyan kingdom, is described as 'Ma-ba-er' in the section on foreign countries in *Yuan Shi*, the annals of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 AD) compiled in the 14th century,[4] and we find in that

[1] The country (port) 'Tuta' in *Daoyi Zhilue* has been identified by most scholars with Nāgapaṭṭinam as it is stated in the text that there was a brick tower in that place, which had a Chinese inscription dated to AD 1267. It is well-known that in Nagapattinam there had existed a brick tower called the China-pagoda until it was demolished in the middle of the 19th century.

[2] See Chapter 12 and also Karashima, 'Trade Relations Between South India and China During the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1989), pp. 59–81.

[3] H.M. Elliot, *The history of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. III, London, 1871, p. 32.

[4] Since the compilation was made so hastily and carelessly, *Yuan-shi xin-bian* (The Annals of the Yuan Dynasty New Edition) and other revised editions were compiled during the 19th and 20th centuries. I have checked those editions, too.

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description the name of Xin-cun as the port on the Coromandel coast, where Chinese envoys arrived in 1281. The Chinese text tells us that the Chinese Emperor, being anxious to receive a mission from the king of Ju-lan as a token of his submission, sent Imperial envoys to Ju-lan for that purpose in 1280. This part of the Chinese text was translated into English by W.W. Rockhill in *T'oung-pao*,[5] which was again reprinted by Nilakanta Sastri in his book.[6] However, as this translation contains many errors and misunderstandings, I shall give my own translation below.[7]

> In the 10th month (of the 17th year of Zhi-yuan in the reign of the Emperor Khubilai Khan) the Emperor appointed Ha-sa-er-hai-ya [Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya] Ambassador to Ju-lan [Kulam] and let him go (to Ju-lan) in company with Yang Ting-bi [Yang Ting-pi] (Commander-in-Chief in Guang-dong [Kuang-tung] having the title of Da-lu-hua-chi) to summon (the kingdom of Ju-lan) to come to the Chinese court. They sailed from Quan-zhou [Chuan-chou] in the 1st month of the 18th year (about February 1281) and after a voyage of three months arrived in Shen-jia-ye-shan [Seng-kia-yeh-shan] (Sri Lanka). Zheng-zhen [Cheng-chen] and other sailors persuaded them, in view of the head winds and the shortage of provisions, to go to Ma-ba-er, from where, they guessed, Ju-lan could be reached by a land-route. In the 4th month they reached the port of Xin-cun [Hsin-tsun] in Ma-ba-er and landed there. Ma-yin-di [Ma-yin-ti], the Minister of State of the country, said to them as follows: You are most welcome. Whenever our ships have been to Quan-zhou your officials have treated us very well, for which we are simply obliged. What business has brought you here?
>
> Yang Ting-bi and others explained the purpose of their mission and referred to the supposed land-route to Ju-lan. Ma-yin-di, however, withheld his answer on the pretext of his not-understanding the language. Bu-a-li [Pu-a-li], his Minister (Secretary to Ma-yin-di?), was also excused (from answering) on some other pretext when they met him and asked about the route.
>
> In the 5th month two men (Ma-tin-di and Bu-a-li?) came early (in the morning) to the envoys' lodge, and keeping the people away, let their officer explain the following situation: I humbly beg you to convey the (following) message to the court of the Emperor.

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[5] W.W. Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century', part I, *T'oung-pao*, vol. XV (1914), pp. 431 ff.

[6] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1939, pp. 150–152.

[7] In this Chapter I have employed the *pinyin* spelling for Chinese letters, but in the following translation I put in brackets also the spelling employed by Rockhill in his paper for convenience in cross-checking.

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> I am sincerely desirous of becoming the subject of the Emperor. When I sent my envoy named Zha-ma-li-ding [Cha-ma-li-ting] to the Emperor's court, one of my officers ranked great *bi-she-chi* [*pi-she-chih*] went to Suan-dan [Suan-tan] (Sundara Pandya) to inform him of this happening. Suan-dan deprived me of my gold, silver, and landed properties and also my wife and children, seeking to put me to death. I have only been able to escape by deceiving him. At present Suan-dan and his brothers, five in all, have assembled together in Jia-yi (Kayal) to deliberate about fighting with Ju-lan. When they heard of the coming of the Imperial envoys, they gave it out that this country was poor and lowly. This is false and all the gold, pearls and precious things of the Muslim countries come from this country, and Muslims of all the other countries come here to trade. As all the kingdoms (of south India) desire to be submissive to the Chinese Emperor, if Ma-ba-er has once done so, I can pursuade them to become the subjects of the Emperor, by circulating a letter to them to that effect.

On this occasion Ha-sa-er-hai-ya and Yang Ting-bi were not able to go to Ju-lan because of the head winds, and finally came back (to China). Ha-sa-er-hai-ya went to the Imperial court for (reporting and) discussing the matter furhter and (afterwards) waited (in Quan-zhou) for the North winds to blow in the 11th month to sail again for Ju-lan. When the time came, the Emperor, sending his officer, ordred Ting-bi alone to go.

Rockhill was inclined to identify Xin-cun with Kaveripattinam without any convincing evidence and so also was Nilakanta Sastri. To the contrary, T.N. Subramaniam, who studied relations between South India and China in the medieval period,[8] tried to identify this village with one of the following three ports on the Coromandel coast, namely, Sadras (Saduraṅgapaṭṭinam), Sōpuram (Tiruchchōpuram) or Chintāmaṇi, considering the phonetic affinities of those names. However, Xin-cun, where the Chinese envoys landed, may be identified more plausibly with Pondicherry, as Xin-cun means a 'new village' in the Chinese language and Puduchcheri, the original form of Pondicherry, means the same in the Tamil language. Although most of the foreign place-names were transliterated phonetically in the Chinese texts, in some cases the meaning seems to have been taken for a place-name instead of its phonetic representation, or the combination of those two different principles is seen, as Da('big')-badan for Periya('big')-paṭṭinam in *Daoyi Zhilue*.[9] In case of Tu-ta (Earthern tower) in *Daoyi Zhilue*, the Chinese (and local people also?) seem to have employed this name, as there existed a brick tower in that place, though it

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[8] T.N. Subramaniam, 'A Tamil Colony in Medieval China', R. Nagaswamy (ed.), *South Indian Studies*, Madras, 1978, pp. 1–52.

[9] *Da* in Chinese and *periya* in Tamil correspond with each other in the meaning and Chinese *badan* represents the phonetic value of *paṭṭinam* or *paṭṭanam* in Tamil. Thus, two different principles are combined in one place-name.

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was demolished by Jesuit missionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century.

We do not actually know who Ma-yin-di was who was described as the Minister of State, but as Subramanian suggested, he might have been a prince of the Cholas who were destroyed by the Pandyas just before the coming of the Chinese envoys. There is no doubt in identifying Suan-dan with Sundara Pandya and Jia-yi with Kāyal.[10] Though Rockhill presumed the existence of the legitimate king of Ma-ba-er other than Suan-dan and their struggle for hegemony,[11] we should view the matter to be a conflict between Suan-dan and Ma-yin-di reflecting their opposing relations as being old foes or as being those between the king and an ambitious subordinate. We can presume that Ma-yin-di himself sent Zha-ma-li-ding, the envoy, to China, which caused him the altercation with Sundara Pandya. Although we have no information on Pondicherry towards the end of the 13th century, the existence of a Chola prince who had accepted the Pandyan suzereignty, or a rebellious Pandyan administrator, in the area of Pondicherry is quite plausible.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Madurai, the Pandyan capital, was attacked and taken by the Delhi Sultans and Periyapattinam grew as an important port under the patronage of the Madurai Sultans who became independent from the Delhi Sultans in 1335.[12] However, Pondicherry seems to have been flourishing as another important port for the use of the people of the old Chola country throughout the fourteenth century, as testified by the discovery there of many Chinese ceramic-sherds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[10] Rockhill failed to take the meaning of 'Jia-yi' correctly.

[11] Rockhill seems to have been misled by the mention of the Great King A-bu-ge in the beggining of the section of Ma-ba-er in the text, when he spoke about the legitimate king of Ma-ba-er other than Suan-dan, 'who resided we are told in a city on, or near, a navigable river some fifteen days from the coast'. A-bu-ge, whose fort is described in the text 'to be as approachable from that country (Ju-lan) by navigation in water for about 15 days if the wind is favourable', is none other than the king Abaqa of the Il Khan dynasty who ruled the Persian Gulf area during the period from 1265 to 1282 AD. Brisk trade relations between the Persian Gulf and South India existed during the Yuan period, for which see N. Karashima, 'Trade Relations Between South India and China During the 13th and 14th Centuries,' and Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society Under Vijayanagar Rule*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, pp. 171–180.

[12] For the development of the port Periyapattinam, see Karashima, 'Trade Relations Between South India and China During the 13th and 14th Centuries', and Karashima, 'Periyapattinam: South Indian Coastal Village—Discovery of Chinese Potsherds and Its Identification with Ta Pa-tan and Fattan' (in Japanese), *Tohogaku (Eastern Studies)*, No. 75 (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 81–98. See also Chapter 12 in this volume.

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18

Periyapaṭṭinam: An Important Medieval Port on the Coromandel Coast and Its Identification

N. Karashima

When I first heard the name of Periyapaṭṭinam as the place where Professor Subbarayalu picked up so many good pieces of Chinese ceramic-sherds, an idea struck me, as I remembered that in *Daoyi Zhilue*, Chinese work of the fourteenth century describing the countries of Southern Sea, i.e. Southeast Asia, South Asia and West Asia approachable by sea, there is mentioned a country (port) called Dabadan. My idea was that Dabadan could be Periyapaṭṭinam. 'Periya', the first component of Periyapaṭṭinam means 'big' in Tamil and 'paṭṭinam', the second component, is a suffix usually applied to a 'port town' in Tamil place name. Interestingly, the first component 'da' of Dabadan means 'big' in Chinese, showing its correspondence with 'periya' of Periyapaṭṭinam in the meaning. It is also clear that the second component 'badan' in Chinese corresponds in sound with 'paṭṭinam' (paṭṭanam) in Tamil. Thus Dabadan of *Daoyi Zhilue* seems to have meant Periyapaṭṭinam. Large amount of Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the fourteenth century obtained in Periyapaṭṭinam is a sure and strong support of this identification.

In addition to this, the description of Dabadan in *Daoyi Zhilue* also seems to support the identification of Dabadan with Periyapaṭṭinam. The text of the part of Dabadan can be translated as follows:

> The country Dabadan lies behind the Western Sea and is called Quepoling. It commands a view extending several hundred *li*. The paddy fields are flat and give rich harvest. Seasonal rains water the fields. Recently a clump of rice with 48 stalks growing in a field reached the height of more than three meters. Each stalk produced 130 grains of rice, each grain being about 1.5 cm long. The people of the country revered the clump calling it the King of rice. People

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> removed the stalk to the headman's house and it did not wither more than a year. Afterwards its spikes dropped off. They were of golden colour. People applied the ash of the betel palm to them so that they could not be spoilt by insects. The spikes are still preserved in that country to this day. From time to time people dry them under the sun, treating them as treasures. The climate of the country is hot, and the people are good natured. Both men and women trim their hair short and wear a cloth called *nanliubu.* The sea water is boiled to make salt. The country produces cotton cloth and jack fruit (*bolomi*). For exchange in trade *nansi* threads, iron bars, purple colour cosmetic powders, wooden Chinese combs, sandal woods and white sugar are used.

Toyohachi Fujita, a Japanese scholar who published the first critical edition of *Daoyi Zhilue* in 1915, suggested that Dabadan was located somewhere on the western coast of the Indian peninsula.[1] Su Jiquing, a Chinese scholar who published another critical edition in 1980, identified it with Dahfattan mentioned by Ibn Battuta, which in turn is identified with Dharmadam near Tellicherry on the Malabar coast.[2] So far as the correspondence in sound is concerned, this identification of Dabadan with Dahfattan may be acceptable, but the description of Dabadan given above does not seem to support it. The points that the land is flat and vast, very fertile yielding abundant amount of paddy, and that there is no reference to coconut trees, do not accord with the topographical features of the Malabar coast, particularly that of the Tellicherry area where the Western Ghats come close to the coast creating ups and downs and where we find many coconut trees. On the contrary, it is an apt description of the scenery along the Ma'bar coast, especially of the Periyapaṭṭinam area.

For example, the description of a port town on Malabar coast (Kollam = Quilon) given in the same Chinese work, reads: 'Flanked by the mountain the paddy fields give poor yields. Wheat cultivation is better suited to the fields. Rice is imported yearly from Orissa.' We have similar description also for Pandalayini, another port town on Malabar coast rather close to Dharmadam, and in both places the most important tree in the region is mentioned as the coconut tree. The description of Dahfattan given by Ibn Battuta is also similar to the accounts of the Malabar coast towns given in *Daoyi Zhilue*.[3] All these points above seem to suggest that Periyapaṭṭinam where we have discovered a large quantity of Chinese potsherds, is the Dabadan described in *Daoyi Zhilue*.

Besides *Daoyi Zhilue* there are several other Chinese works concerning Southern Sea countries written during the medieval period. For the twelfth

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[1] Toyohachi Fujita, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaozhu (Critical edition of Wang Dayuan's Daoyi Zhilue)*, Xuetang Cougke, Tokyo, 1915.

[2] Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaoshi (Critical edition of Wang Dyuan's Daoyi Zhilue)*, Beijin, 1981.

[3] Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, CXXII), Baroda, 1953, pp. 186–88.

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and thirteenth centuries, for example, *Zhufan Zhi*, a description of foreign countries and trade articles of the Song period, is well known, and for the fifteenth century there are a few works including the *Yingyai Shenglan* of Ma Huan who accompanied the famous envoy Zheng Ho in his maritime expeditions to the Indian Ocean.[4] Dabadan, however, is not mentioned in any of these works. It is only given in the *Daoyi Zhilue*. It seems, therefore, that Periyapttinam enjoyed a relatively brief period of glory, that it suddenly increased in importance during the fouteenth century, and that its heyday did not last long. If so, why?

To answer this question, we have to pay attention to other port towns on the Tamil Nadu coast, particularly Kāyal. Kāyal, adjacent to Tūtukuḍi (Tuticorin) in Tirunelveli District, was the famous port town under the Pandyas in the thirteenth century and mentioned as Cail by Marco Polo. We visited this town also after completing our survey in Periyapaṭṭinam. Kāyal stretches along the coast to the North and South, and Kāyalpaṭṭinam where Carswell in his survey found no Chinese ceramics lies in its southern most part.[5] We visited the place called Palaya Kāyal (Old Kāyal) in the northern most part, about a kilometer inland from the sea shore, and were able to pick up many Chinese porsherds from the ground to our surprise. Most of them were celadon from the Longquan and Fujian kilns and the rest were white Dehua porcelain and the brown glaze Guangdong ware. Significantly there was no single piece of blue-and-white, which indicates that these pieces of celadon and others remaining in Palaya Kāyal should be ascribed to the thirteenth century. This is quite accordant with what we know from written records, since the mention of Kāyal as a flourishing port town under the Pandyas appears mostly in the works of the later thirteenth and the early fourteenth century such as the Travels of Marco Polo and the Histories of Wassaf and Rashid al-Din. It also appeaars in *Yuan Shi*, the annals of the Yuan dynasty, as Jiayi. On the contrary, it is not mentioned in either *Daoyi Zhilue* or the Travels of Ibn Battuta.

This possible shift of the important maritime trade centre in Tamil Nadu from Kāyal to Periyapaṭṭinam between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be partly attributed to physical factors such as the accumulation of sand in the harbours or the change of bay current, but more properly it can be explained by the political situation of the time. It seems to have been the invasion of Madurai by the armies of the Khalji and Tughluq sultans of Delhi that caused the shift. The army commanded by Malik Kafur stormed Madurai in 1311 and that by Ulugh Khan came to the region in 1320s to establish the sultan's rule there. Before long a sultan's commander who was in charge of Madurai proclaimed his independence in or before 1335. The Madurai Sul-

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[4] J.V.G. Mills (tr. & ed.), *Ying-yai Sheng-lan (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970.

[5] John Carswell, 'China and Islam: A Survey of the Coast of India and Ceylon,' *TOCS 1977-78*, pp. 25–45.

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tanate was thus born. Although the sultans of Delhi and Madurai established their power in the region around Madurai, they were still surrounded by enemies, since the Pandyan rulers were still active in the South in the Tirunelveli and Tenkasi regions and the Hoysalas were watching for a chance of coming down to Madurai from the North.

We may conclude, therefore, that Kāyal which was close to Tirunelveli was not a safe port for the sultans, and they must have desired a safer port than Kāyal to ensure the continuation of the international trade which was so crucial for continuing their warfare and maintaining their economy. The horses which were indispensable for their army had to be imported from the Persian Gulf. For that purpose, Periyapaṭṭinam facing the Gulf of Mannar seems to have been located most ideally since it was easily approachable from Madurai by the Vaigai river. The sultans, therefore, must have done a lot to develop Periyapaṭṭinam as their main port for international trade. This will explain its sudden obtaining importance in the fourteenth century. However, the decline of the Madurai Sultanate which occurred in late 1360s may have reduced the prosperity of Periyapaṭṭinam in the succeeding centuries, though it seems to have continued to function as a sea port until the seventeenth century.

In relation to the sultans' efforts to develop Periyapaṭṭinam, the identification of Fattan, a port town referred to by Ibn Battuta, should also be considered. Fattan appears in the section concerning the Tamil Nadu coast in Ibn Battuta's travel account, and it has never been successfully identified with any town, though some suggestions have been made. The story which refers to Fattan in Ibn Battuta can be summed up as follows:

> Ibn Battuta left Maldive islands in 1344 for Ma'bar where he wanted to meet the sultan of Madurai who happened to be his brother-in-law. Instead of arriving at the Ma'bar coast, his ship reached Battala, the present Puttalam, a west coast town of Sri Lanka. After spending some time in Sri Lanka, he left Battala again for Ma'bar coast, but in a storm his ship was wrecked at some place off the Ma'bar coast. He landed on the coast and came to know that the sultan had been fighting against the heathens at a place of two days' journey from there. Soon he received a message from the sultan and traveled to the sultan's place via Harkatu to meet him. He met the sultan and both proceeded through a jungle to a port town called Fattan. After staying there for some time, the sultan went back to Madurai and later Ibn Battuta also went to Madurai, where he stayed for about a month. While he was in Madurai, the sultan, Battuta's brother-in-law, died. Finally Ibn Battuta left Madurai for Fattan again, where he took a ship for Yemen. When he left Madurai, the new sultan gave him a letter to the effect that Battuta should be allowed to take whichever ship

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he likes from Fattan when travelling to his next destination.

As will be understood from the above, the location of Harkatu provides a clue for identifying Fattan. Having identified it with Arcot in North Arcot District, 70 kilometers West of Madras, Henry Yule, the famous scholar of the travels of Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, regarded Nagapaṭṭinam or Nagore, 10 kilometers North of Nagapaṭṭinam, as Fattan.[6] If Harkatu was Arcot, Nagapaṭṭinam or Nagore is certainly on the way back from Harkatu, but this identification presents some problems. Since Battuta sailed from Battala for Ma'bar with the intention of meeting his brother-in-law, the sultan of Madurai, it is only natural to presume that he planned to land at Periyapaṭṭinam or its vicinity. But his ship met with a storm on the way. It is difficult to think that his ship sailed further north through Pamban Channel and Palk Strait in a storm, his ship must have been wrecked near Periyapaṭṭinam. If so, by no stretch of imagination can Arcot be said to be within two days' journey from that place.

Henri Cordier, who wrote many useful footnotes to Yule's books, was of the opinion that Fattan should have been near Ramanathapuram, since it was a port of Madurai, and suggested Devipaṭṭinam, 20 kilometers North of Periyapaṭṭinam, or Kilakkarai, 15 kilometers West of Periyapaṭṭinam, for Fattan.[7] He alluded to Periyapaṭṭinam also as another possible candidate. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who was the first Professor of Indian History at the Madras University, expressed his idea in one of his books that Harkatu was Ariyakudi in the northern part of Ramanathapuram District and suggested the identification of Fattan with Periyapaṭṭinam, which he believed to have been a flourishing port during the medieval period.[8]

The medieval port Fattan is referred to not only by Ibn Battuta but also by Wassaf and Rashid al-Din, Persian historians of the fourteenth century.[9] According to these two historians, a Muslim called Taqi al-Din who served Sundara Pandya as his minister lived in the country of Ma'bar. While referring to him, both Wassaf and Rashid al-Din mention three port towns assigned to his control by Sundara Pandya. They are Fitan (Fatan), Mali-Fitan (Mali-Fatan) and Kabil (Bawal) (those in brackets by Rashid al-Din) on the Ma'bar coast. There is little doubt that the Fattan of Ibn Battuta is the same as the Fitan (Fatan) of these historians. Of these three towns, Kabil (Bawal) is easily identified with Kāyal, and Mali-Fitan (Mali-Fatan) was identified by Yule with Devipaṭṭinam on certain grounds,[10] which is again supported by S.

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[6] *JRAS*, NS, IV, p. 347.

[7] Yule and Cordier, *Cathey and the Way Thither*, IV, London, 1916, p. 35, note 1.

[8] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Madras, 1921, pp. 194–96.

[9] The reference by Wassaf is found in H.M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. III, London, 1871, pp. 32 & 33, and that by Rashid al-Din in *ibid.*, vol. I, London, 1867, p. 69.

[10] *JRAS*, NS, IV, pp. 348–49.

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Krishnaswami Aiyangar. If we accept these identifications, Fitan (Fatan) may well be identified with Periyapaṭṭinam, since the three port towns assigned to one person for his rule must have been close to each other. Nagapaṭṭinam or Nagore were too far from Kāyal and Devipaṭṭinam to be included. As stated earlier, Ibn Battuta was given a letter by the Madurai sultan to the effect that he could take any ship he desired from Fattan to continue his journey. If Periyapaṭṭinam was the port developed and patronized by the sultan, the above story would be more understandable. All these, therefore, seem to suggest that the Fattan referred to by Ibn Battuta was also identical with Periyapaṭṭinam.

Plate 29

29.1. Excavated Trench, Periyapattinam

29.2. Coast view, Pandalayini Kollam

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19

Historical Relations of Ancient Sri Lanka and Myanmar

Malini Dias

The aim of the present paper is to assess the historical relations of ancient Sri Lanka and Myanmar on religious, political and palaeographical perspectives. Myanmar, with which Sri Lanka had close connections, was referred to as Suvaṇṇabhūmi in the Sri Lankan chronicles, *Dīpavamsa*[1] and *Mahāvamsa*,[2] written in the fifth and the sixth centuries respectively. It can be included in the category of countries such as Sri Lanka, Thailand and Cambodia where Theravada Buddhism flourished. As a Theravada Buddhist country, Myanmar had close relations with Sri Lanka in receiving the higher ordination of the Buddhist Order.[3] *Mahāvamsa* refers to Suvaṇṇabhūmi[4] (Golden land) as one of the countries to which Buddhism was introduced by the missionaries on a decision taken at the Third Council held under the patronage of Emperor Asoka in India in the third century B.C.

An account of the Third Council, which was held to establish the Theravada Buddhist doctrines is recorded only in the Sri Lankan chronicles. However, the historicity of these chronicles with regard to the account of these missions is challenged on the ground that the inscriptions of Asoka do not mention some of the countries such as Suvaṇṇabhūmi and the Himalayan regions to which the Buddhist missionaries were sent. But it can be argued that the purpose of Asoka's inscriptions was to promote a moral life among the people living within the territories of his kingdom and that there was no necessity

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[1] *Dīpavamsa* is the earliest attempt to write the history of the island by an unknown author.

[2] *Mahāvamsa* compiled by a monk named Mahanama is based on the historical tradition adopted in the *Dīpavamsa*.

[3] Myanmar is the traditional name by which its inhabitants had known their country for generations. The British called the country Burma and its inhabitants Burmese during their rule there. Recently, the country was renamed with its traditional name Myanmar.

[4] *Mahāvamsa*, p. 82.

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for him to mention about propagation of Buddhism in other countries. If not for these chronicles any of these events would have been unknown. Therefore, the narration of the council held by Asoka at his capital Pāṭalīputra in the Sri Lankan chronicles could be regarded as the only historical record of the event.[5]

The earliest phase of the religious connections began at the Third Council held under the leadership of the venerated *thēra* Moggalīputtatissa with Emperor Asoka seated beside him, together with a great number of *bhikkhūs* to purify the religion. This council, constituted under the patronage of the king, ended in nine months with the compiling of the true doctrine. *Thēra* Moggalīputtatissa came to a consensus with the congregation of the learned monks to send missionaries to adjoining countries to spread the true doctrine of the Buddha. Here it will be appropriate to refer to the *Mahāvamsa* Chapter, 'The Converting of Different Countries.'[6]

> When the *thēra* Moggalīputtatissa, the illuminator of the religion of the Conqueror, had brought the third council to an end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month Kattika he sent forth *thēras*, one here and one there. The *thēra* Majjhantika he sent to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, the *thēra* Mahādēva he sent to Mahishamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he sent the *thēra* named Rakkhita, and to Aparāntaka, the Yōna named Dhammarakkhita, to Mahāraṭṭha (he sent) the *thēra* named Mahādhammarakkhita, but the *thēra* Mahārakkhita he sent into the country of the Yōna. He sent the *thēra* Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and to Suvaṇṇabhūmi he sent the two *thēras* Sōna and Uttara. The great *thēra* Mahinda, the *thēras* Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla his disciples, these five *thēras* he sent forth with the charge: 'Ye shall found in the lovely island of Lanka the lovely religion of the Conqueror.'[7]

It was possible to establish a cordial relationship between Sri Lanka and Myanmar as both had widespread association on Theravada Buddhism and both depended on each other for the higher ordination of *bhikkhūs* when this facility was not available in one country. Such historical information makes *Mahāvamsa* unique in that it is the ancient chronicle which not only gives the association Sri Lanka and Myanmar had in the past but also provides the building blocks for the development of the religious history of the two countries. With the spread of Buddhism, the two countries gained mutual co-operation under the common banner of Buddhism.

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[5] *Mahāvamsa*, ch. V.
[6] *Mahāvamsa*, ch. XII.
[7] Ibid.

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Moving on to the eleventh century we have one of the most informative accounts of the Sri Lanka–Myanmar connections from *Chūlavamsa*, the chronicle continuing the historical narration picked up from *Mahāvamsa*. It refers to Myanmar as the Rāmaṇṇa Raṭṭha. During the reign of King Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110) there had been interaction in religion and trade between Sri Lanka and the Rāmañña country and exchange of goods with the ships from Rāmañña, which had berthed at a port situated in Ruhuṇa in the southernmost part of Sri Lanka. The *Chūlavamsa* states:

> The king Vijayabāhu sent to the king in the Rāmañña country numbers of people and much costly treasure. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood, and other goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him with large forces at his command, he took up his abode in Tambalagāma.[8]

Being a devoted follower of the Buddhist Faith, Vijayabāhu's religious policy was to support the Buddhist Order. He was confronted with the difficulty of not having duly ordained monks to perform the formal acts of the Order. He sent envoys to king Anuruddha of the Rāmañña Raṭṭa to get ordained *bhikkhūs* to perform the acts of the Order. King Anuruddha acceded to the request of Vijayabāhu and sent duly ordained *bhikkhūs* together with copies of the *Tripiṭaka* or the scriptures of the Buddhist religion. The Chronicle describes thus:

> As the number of the *bhikkhūs* was not sufficient to make the chapter full for the (holding of the) ceremony of admission into the Order and other acts, the Ruler of men who had at heart the continuance of the Order, sent to his friend, the Prince Anuruddha in the Rāmañña country messengers with gifts and had fetched thence *bhikkhūs* who had thoroughly studied the three *Piṭaka*s, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues, (and) acknowledged as *thēra*s. After distinguishing them by costly gifts, the King had ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission into the Order repeatedly performed by them and the three *Piṭaka*s together with the commentary frequently recited and saw to it that the Order of the Victor which had declined in Lanka again shone brightly.

The fact that emanates from the passage from *Chūlavamsa* is very well exemplified by a Tamil inscription of the reign of Vijayabāhu, known as the Polonnaruva Slab-inscription (Plate 30) of the *Vēḷaikkāṟa*s.

> Obeisance to the Buddha! In the prosperous Island of Lanka, the Emperor Śrī Vijayabāhu Dēvar *alias* Śrī Sanghabōdhi-varmar, a

[8] *Chūlavamsa*, part I, p. 202. This could be the ancient port of Godavaya mentioned in a second century inscription.

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> scion of the lineage of Iksvāku of the Solar race, gaining victory over many an enemy, entered Anurādhapura and, at the request of the Buddhist priesthood, put on the sacred crown in order to look after the Buddhist religion. So His Majesty had Buddhist priests invited from Aramaṇa [to Ceylon] and [with their aid], effected the purification of the Buddhist Order of the three *Nikāyas* [fraternities].[9]

The cordial relationship between Sri Lanka and the Rāmañña country during the reign of Vijayabāhu I also could be attributed to Pāli, in which language the doctrines of the Buddha were known to both countries. With *Saddanīti*, a Pāli grammar by a monk named Aggavamsa, the Myanmar grammatical tradition was made popular in Sri Lanka and in addition to this, there had been historical documents referring to Sri Lanka as well. One such chronicle called *Yazawingyaw*, for instance, deals with the history of the Buddha *sāsana* in India and Sri Lanka.[10] There were opportunities to the scholars of the two countries to get acquainted with the books available in both countries. The *Mānāvulu-sandēsa*, otherwise called as the *Mahānāgakula-sandēsa* or the *Rāmañña-sandēsa*, a metrical composition by a monk named Mahā Nāgasēna was sent from Mahānāgahula in Rōhaṇa in the south of Sri Lanka to Arimaddanapura in Myanmar.

The next stage of the religious connections of the two countries can be identified when the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha or the Sri Lankan priesthood received special recognition in the Rāmañña country during the reign of king Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186). It is said that during this period *thēra* Uttarajīva, a high dignitary of the Myanmar Buddhist Order and the royal preceptor, accompanied by many other *thēras* and his disciple Chappaṭa from Bagan visited the island. Disciple Chappaṭa remained in Sri Lanka and the elders of the Siṅhaḷa *saṅgha*, in order to demonstrate the unity of the Buddhist Order of Sri Lanka with that of the Rāmañña country, performed the ceremony of higher ordination on Chappaṭa. Having received the higher ordination Chappata returned to his motherland in the company of four Siṅhaḷa monks and founded a separate sect known as the *Sīhaḷa-Saṅgha*, which played an important role in the religious history in that country.[11] Parākramabāhu's religious policy to enforce high standards among the *saṅgha* community in Sri Lanka increased its prestige among the Buddhists of Myanmar and they had the highest veneration for the shrines of Sri Lanka.

The close links established between Sri Lanka and Myanmar on the religion shattered at one stage during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. In the 12th year of his reign a war was waged against king Alaungsitu of the Rāmañña country. The circumstances, which brought about a war between Sri Lanka

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[9] *Chūlavamsa*, part I, pp. 214–215 and *EZ*, II, pp. 252–3. Aramaṇa is derived from Ramañña

[10] *History of Ceylon*, vol. I, part I, p. 66.

[11] *IA*, XXII, pp. 29ff. *History of Burma*, pp. 50–51, 55–56.

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and Myanmar, are described in detail in the *Chūlavamsa*.[12] There had been a practice for both countries to exchange costly gifts and maintain cordial friendship. A custom was to present an elephant by the king of Rāmañña for the gifts sent by the king of Sri Lanka. This practice was abruptly broken by king Alaungsitu of Rāmañña, which resulted in Parākramabāhu sending an army to Rāmañña to revenge it. The immediate cause is said to be the seizure of a Siṅhaḷa princess, who was on her way from Sri Lanka to Kambōja through Myanmar. At this stage Parākramabāhu decided that there was no alternative but to wage war against Alaungsitu. Parākramabāhu in the 11th or the 12th year of his reign (in the year 1164 or 1165) dispatched a huge army to Myanmar for the invasion. Preparations of the invasion fleet in the ports of Sri Lanka took five months. When every thing was ready the expedition set sail from the port of Pallavavaṅka on the northeast coast, commanded by Damiḷādhikarin Adichcha. A disaster took place due to the bad winds. Some ships sank while others drifted to foreign shores. Five ships under the command of Nagaragiri Kitti sailed up to the port of Kusumi and the Siṅhaḷa troops landed in the territories of Rāmañña, advanced and captured the town of Ukkama. They rode round the town free from all fear turning the right side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Lanka.

The occurrence of the above event is confirmed by the Devanagala rock inscription[13] in the Kegalle District inscribed in the 12th year of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. The inscription records the grant by the king of certain lands to the general Kit Nuvaragal (Kitti Nagaragiri) in recognition of his services in the expedition against the Rāmañña country. The following passage from the inscription amply provides evidence to the effect that this Siṅhaḷa army general had achieved this triumph.

> On the tenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Poson in the twelfth year when His Majesty was enjoying the royal splendour (in the noble city of Pulasti). Whereas, a person named Bhuvanāditta, lord of Aramaṇa, when reigning said, 'we shall not contract a treaty with the island of Lanka' and whereas, when His Majesty had commanded, 'Put men on board thousands of vessels, send them and attack Aramaṇa', and Kit Nuvaragal, (in pursuance of the said command), had taken by storm a town called Kusumīya and when...for five months, the Aramaṇas sent envoys saying 'We shall contract a treaty'— two *yāḷa*s were granted as *pamuṇu* to Kit Nuvaragal, including Malabaṭuva...and the sowing extent of twelve *amuṇa*s and two *pāḷa*s in [K]itsenpavu which was granted by having this inscription engraved on this stone so that [the same] may last till the sun and the moon endure.[14]

[12] *Chūlavamsa*, part II, p. 69.
[13] *EZ*, III, No. 34) (Plate 31.1
[14] *EZ*, III, p. 325.

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Myanmar chronicles assert that king Narathu (1160–65) who built Dhammyangyi temple was assassinated by some Indians while the construction work of the temple was in progress. This king may be Alaungsitu, whose obstinacy, according to the Sri Lankan sources, made way for his death.[15]

Although such political rivalries may have occurred between Sri Lanka and Myanmar, the two countries had actively co-operated for four centuries to protect Thēravada Buddhism. This is authenticated by the Kalyāṇi inscription engraved on ten marble slabs (Plate 31.2) found in the city of Pegu in Myanmar.[16] This inscription describes how Bhuvanēkabāhu VI (1470–1484) arranged the *bhikkhūs* in Rāmañña to receive the higher ordination. The Kalyāṇi inscription states that on a mission sent by king Dhammachēti, king Bhuvanēkabāhu organized the conferment of *upasampadā* or the higher ordination ceremony in a grand scale by constructing beautifully decorated vessels moored in the river Kalyāṇi in Sri Lanka and inviting the high dignitaries among the *bhikkhūs* of Sri Lanka to take up their place in the float. It also describes that the *bhikkhūs* of Rāmañña, having received the higher ordination had returned to Rāmañña to perform the higher ordination there. On their way back one of the ships was wrecked resulting in the loss of life. The survivors landed at Nāgapaṭṭanam in south India and took another ship to Myanmar. When the *bhikkhūs* who received the higher ordination arrived at Pegu, large numbers of *bhikkhūs* wanted to receive higher ordination from them. These monks had brought sand from the Kalyāṇi river and a site was consecrated after spreading the sand over it. King Dhammachēti established the *Kalyāṇi sīma* (ordination hall) on that site and an inscription was engraved in Pāli and Mon languages on ten marble slabs. This inscription established in Pegu in 1476 by King Dhammachēti gives an account of the conferment of the higher ordination at a spectacular ceremony held on vessels moored in the Kalyāṇi river and the early history of Buddhism in Myanmar. These inscriptions bear testimony to the historical relations that had existed between Myanmar and Sri Lanka.[17]

*Stūpa*s found in abundance in almost all the cities of Myanmar are of special significance. The Shwedagon *stūpa* is, by far, the biggest and the most venerated *stūpa* of Myanmar. Being gilt, the *stūpa*'s name Shwedagon implies a gold sparkle. According to folklore the *stūpa* had been built during the Buddha's time with the hair relic of the Buddha, which the Exalted One himself had given to the two merchant brothers Thapassu and Bhalluka. The two brothers had met the Buddha in one of their trade missions from Myanmar to India and had offered him food made of honey. This legend, inspired by the Mahayana tradition is met in an inscription written in Sanskrit at a place called Tiriyāya of the eastern coast of Sri Lanka. It records the names of the two sea-faring merchants as Trapussaka and Vallika and identifies the existing

[15] *Historical Sites in Burma*, p. 62.
[16] *IA*, XXII, pp 29–53, 85–89, 157, See plate IV.
[17] Ibid.

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stūpa in situ as *Girikaṇḍika chaitya*.[18] At the time when it was inscribed in the seventh century AD , there had been a local legend connecting the two merchants, Tapassu and Bhalluka enshrining the hair-relic in the ancient *stūpa* at Tiriyāya.

The Myanmar Buddhists believe that King Wakkalpa constructed a *stūpa* and enshrined in it the relics brought by Tapassu and Bhalluka. It is also said that King Binyau at a later date had enlarged it while a queen of Vegu had it gilt with her weight in gold. King Dhammachēti had gifted some gold in this regard and had inscribed on stone an inscription recording the event.[19] Today the Shwedagon *stūpa* reaches to a height of 326 ft. resplendent with sixty-two minor *stūpa*s and four large ones.[20]

Pagan or Bagan situated on the banks of the Irravadi is a city of much historical importance and had been the capital of Myanmar for two centuries. Many monuments in the city exemplify its ancient grandeur. King Anuwrahta (Anuruddha) who ascended the throne in the 11th century AD took steps to fortify Buddhism by creating facilities to teach the Pāli *Tripiṭaka* and get rid of the Mahayanists and exorcists. He also took steps to uplift Theravada Buddhism in the city. Today one could see about five thousand ruined *stūpa*s spread over an area of twenty-five square miles in Bagan.

Out of the Buddhist countries, Sri Lanka had the fortune to have friendly relationship in the past with the Rāmañña Raṭṭa and had been referred to in the Myanmar historical records as *Tein Go*. In the temple named Kubuyaukguin of Myinkaba in Pagan some wall paintings depict the receipt of the sacred Tooth Relic (a replica) from Sri Lanka and the event being discussed between the king and the laity. A well-known historical event in which king Elara (written as Ilāra), the Tamil king who ruled Sri Lanka for a considerable period administering justice is depicted in one of the paintings. This painting has the king seated in the *Dharmādhikaraṇa* (Royal Court of Justice) and a cow ringing the bell seeking justice against the king's son who had run over her calf in the chariot and killing it.[21]

The city Śrīkshēthra (Thayekhittaya) is situated in the northern bank of Irravadi and it had been quite prosperous in the fifth century AD The *stūpa* Bawbagee in this city stands to a height of 153 ft after the conservation. The archaeological excavations near the Phayagi Cetiya had revealed stone hewn sculptures of the Buddha, *dēva*s and Bōdhisatvas. Among the artifacts large stone urns, which could be surmised to have contained crematory ashes have been discovered. All these artifacts are now being exhibited in the nearby site museum. These funerary urns have inscriptions, which state that Śrīkshētra was ruled by a succession of kings bearing the dynastic name of Vikrama during

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[18] *EZ*, IV, p. 158.
[19] *Historical Sites in Burma*, p. 115.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *Mahāvamsa*, p. 143.

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the 7th to 8th centuries AD.[22] However, on palaeographical grounds there is reason to come to the concluson that these inscriptions closely resemble the Kadamba Brāhmī inscriptions in India.[23]

In the period from the fourth to eighth centuries AD the languages used in Myanmar were Pāli, Pyu and Mon. The Pyu script in particular had, to a large extent, the influence of the Brāhmī script (Chart A). The earliest evidence of writing, discovered from a monastic complex at Beikthano is a clay seal containing the words Samgha siri in Brāhmī script datable to second century AD.[24] The Pāli gold-leaf manuscript from Khinba mound at Sirikshetra (Plate 32.1). written in the Pyu form of writing when compared with the record of the Ruvanvalisaya Pillar inscription[25] (Plate 32.2) of the reign of Buddhadāsa (388–416) shows that both inscriptions have the florid type of writing and that both have similarities. The letters *cha, ja, ma, ya* and *sa* when compared in both the inscriptions will make this fact clear.

A stone slab, discovered at Kunzeik village about 40 miles northeast of Pegu, bears exerpts from *Vinaya Mahāvagga*[26] (Plate 32.3). Its script is Brāhmī datable to the 7th century AD and resembles the script of the Kadamba inscriptions. In Sri Lanka a similar type of Brāhmī can be found in the inscriptions found at Anurādhapura and Nāgirikanda[27] (Plate 32.4–5) It can be assumed that the inscriptions of Myanmar are basically of Brāhmī origin and indicate a close relationship with the Brāhmī scripts of India and Sri Lanka. When compared with these two scripts we could come to the conclusion that Myanmar script had undergone only a slight development through the centuries.

An important factor which emerges from all this is that the modern Myanmar script continues to have the vestiges of the Brāhmī script. It can be very well detected when the letters *ga, ma, ya* and *ra* are compared (Chart B). Unlike the Pyu script of Myanmar, the Brāhmī script of Sri Lanka underwent an evolution, that no trace of it is found in the modern Siṅhaḷa script. The evolution of the Brāhmī script of Sri Lanka into the modern Siṅhaḷa script can be traced very well in the inscriptions after the 7th century AD. Due to various factors such as the introduction of various styles from India the Brāhmī characters gradually evolved into Siṅhaḷa with a transitional period in the seventh century AD. The similarities between the Brāhmī script of Sri Lanka and Pyu script of Myanmar during the period between 4th to 7th centuries AD can be noticed very well when the scripts are compared (Charts A & D). It can be

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[22] *Historical sites in Burma*, p. 32.

[23] For the Indian forms of Brāhmī see Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie* plates and A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., New Delhi, 1986, plates XV–XVI.

[24] *Historical Sites in Burma*, p. 4.

[25] *EZ*, III, No. 8.)

[26] *Historical Sites in Burma*, p. 111.

[27] *EZ*, IV, No. 13 and 14.

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well argued that, with these identical letters appearing in both the scripts in this period, the hypothesis of the Brāhmī script being a common root for the inter-relationship of the scripts that existed between Sri lanka and Myanmar can be taken into account (Chart C).

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30.1. Velaikkara Inscription, Polannaruwa, Sri Lanka

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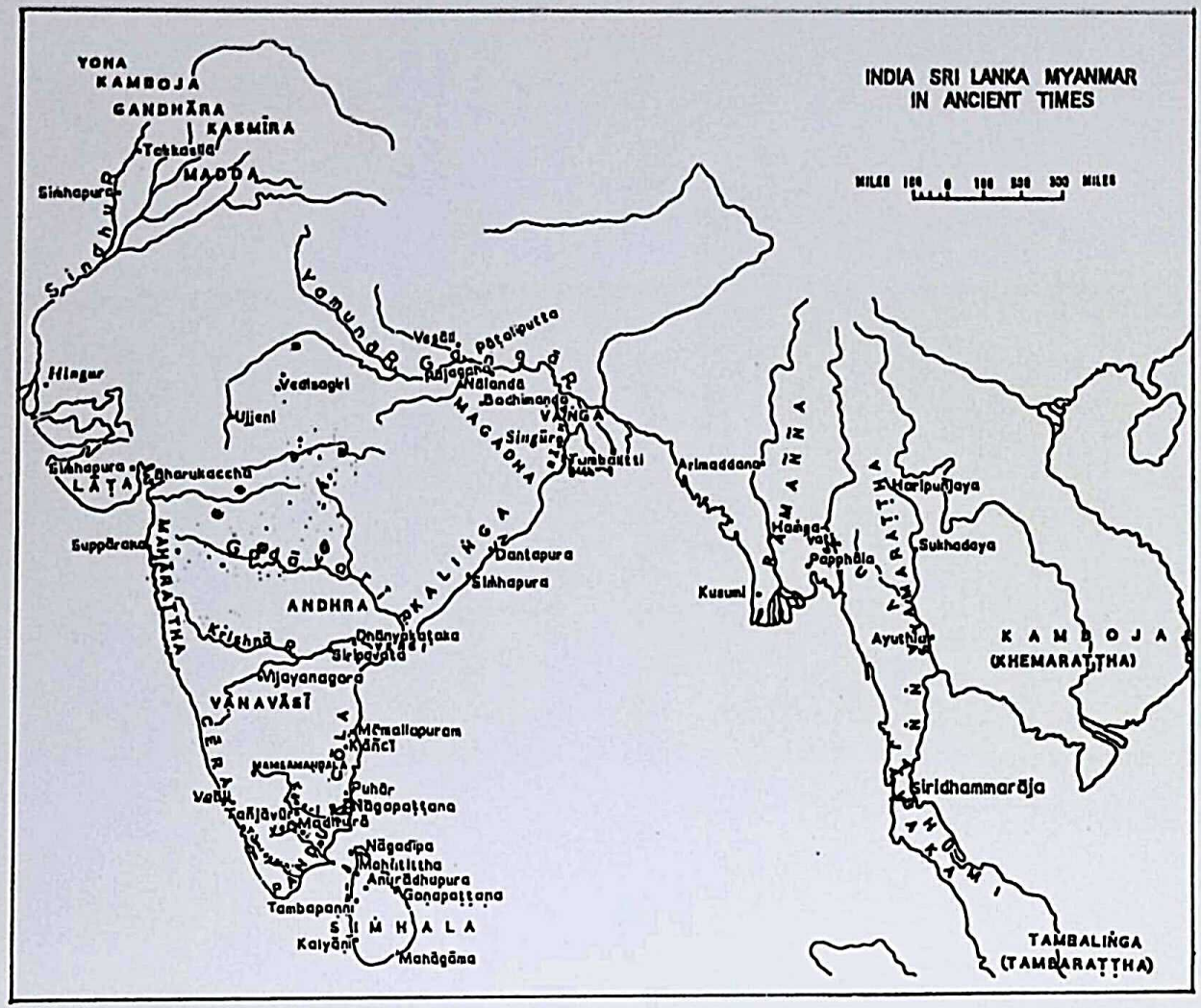

Map 5. India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar in Ancient Times

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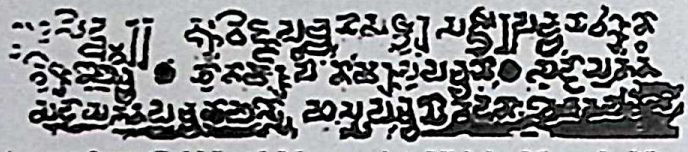
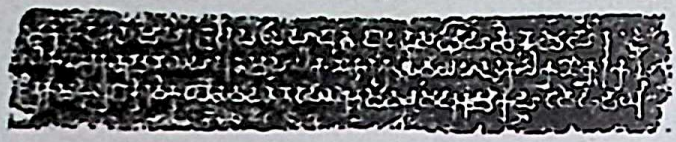
31.2. Devanagala Rock Inscription, Kegalle, District, Sri Lanka

31.3. Fragment of Kalyani Inscription, Pegu, Myanmar

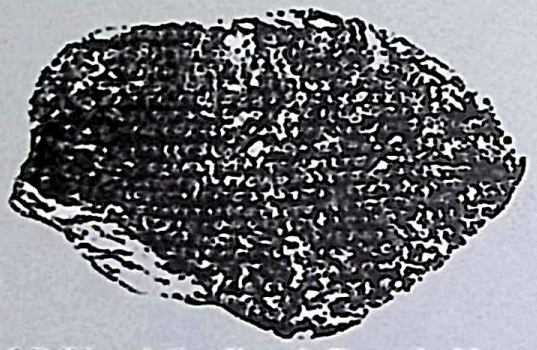
Koviloor Digital Library



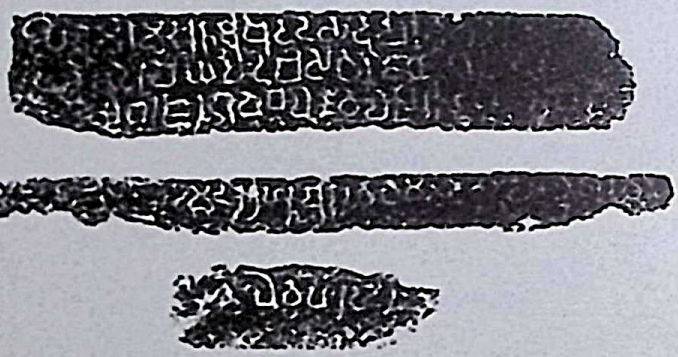
32.4. A page from Gold Leaf Manuscript, Khinba Mound, Myanmar



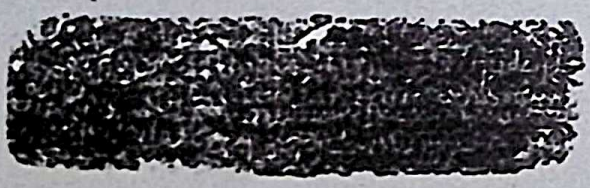
32.5. Ruvanvalisaya pillar Inscription, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka



32.6. Pali Inscription, Kunzek, Shwegyin, Myanmar



32.7. Slab Inscription of Kludda-parinda, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka



32.8. Rock Inscription of Kumaradasa, Nagirikhanda, Sri Lanka

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Chart I

	Brahmi Script	Sinhala Script	Modern Myanmar Script
ga			
ma			
ya			
ra			

Chart I

Chart II

	Sinhala Script	Pyu Script	Brahmi Script
ka			
ca			
ṭa			
ta			
pa			

Chart II

Chart III

Pyu Script 4th to 8th Centuries A.C.

Vowels				
a ā	i ī	u ū		
e ē	o ō	am ah		
Consonants				
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa
ca	cha	ja	jha	ña
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa
ta	tha	da	dha	na
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
ya	ra	la	va	sa
ha	ḷa	h		

Chart III

Chart IV

Sri Lanka Brahmi Script 4th to 7th Centuries A.C.

	4th c A.C.	5th c A.C.	6th c A.C.	7th c A.C.
a				
i				
u				
e				
o				
ka				
kha				
ga				
ca				
ja				
ṭa				
ḍa				
ḍha				
ṇ				
ta				
tha				
ḍa				
dha				
na				
pa				
ba				
bha				
ma				
ya				
ra				
la				
va				
sá				
ṣa				
sa				
ha				
ḷa				
ṁ				

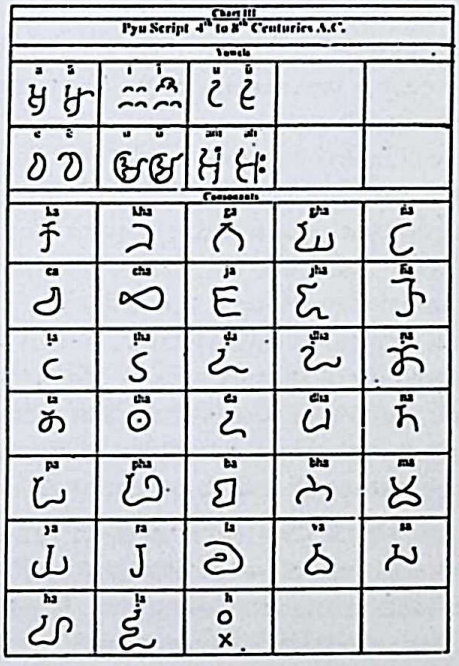

Chart IV

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20

Indian Influences in Southeast Asia as Reflected in the Personal Names

K.V. Raman

The contacts between India and Southeast Asia have a long and chequered history and had many dimensions—commercial, religious and cultural. The subject has attracted the attention of many scholarly works written by Indian, Southeast Asian and the Western scholars. There has been a lively discussion on the antiquity, duration, nature and intensity of these contacts. One of the fascinating manifestations of Indian influences in Southeast Asia is to be found in the place and personal names. To cite only a few instances are the names of many Indian cities and towns occurring in Southeast Asia as well—Ayutya the capital city founded by the Rāmādhipati of Chakri dynasty in 1350 in Thailand obviously after Ayōdhya of *Rāmāyaṇa* fame; Dwārāvati in Thailand corresponding to Dwāraka (*Mahābhārata*); Amarāvati and Pāṇḍuraṅga in Champa; the island of Mathura in Indonesia (after Mathura of the *Mahābhārata*); Bhīmapura in north-west Cambodia; Hariharālaya near Angkor Thom; Indrapura in lower Mekong valley and the first capital of Jayavarman II of Ankhor kingdom. The name is after the well known city of Indraprasta of *Mahābhārata* identified with the present-day old Delhi; Ratnagiri in eastern Cambodia; Vijaya in Champa etc. The above are only a few select examples of numerous such towns in Southeast Asia bearing the names of Indian origin or model.

In this paper, attention is focused on the Indian influences on personal names in Southeast Asia. The names, mostly derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit obviously as a result of the spread of Buddhism and Hinduism (i.e., Brahmanical faith), are given in the appended list, alphabetically arranged together with brief historical notes and references. The list is fairly detailed though not exhaustive. The names given in this list belong to persons of different sections of the society—kings, queens, ministers, high-ranking officers, military generals, royal Gurus (preceptors) and teachers, common devotees or donors. Most of the names occur in epigraphical records and ancient literary works. The names represent a cross-section of the society. They come from all the

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countries of Southeast Asia and also belong to a long period of time. Every entry contains the place in which the name occurs as well as the date besides the reference to the source.

Pesonal Names—Rationale and Analysis

In point of time, the impact of Indian influence on the personal names in Southeast Asia can be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era (e.g., Kauṇḍinya of the Funan empire). This process continued for a very long period and they are to be seen even today particularly in the Buddhist countries like Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Even after the introduction of Islam, in Indonesia and Malaysia, the names of Hindu and Buddhist origin have continued to a considerable extent as seen in such names like Sukarno, Subhandrio (Presidents of Indonesia) and Sahasranāma Joyo, Megavati Sukarnaputri, the present Prime Minister of Indonesia. The name of the Indonesian airways viz., 'Garuda Airways' is a good example of how the Indian names have been retained even for certain institutions. Analysis of personal names indicates the following broad categories and rationale:

Indian Traditions and Conventions

The ancient Indian concept, as reflected in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstras*, holds the ruling king as the protector of the land and its people and his ideal was to become the Universal Lord and they, like the Hindu kings of India, took the titles like *mahārājādhirāja* (Bhavavarman), *Kambūjēndrādhirāja* (Harivarman I). Reflecting this concept we have many personal names of kings included in this Glossary. They are: Dharaṇīndravarman (Lord of the World), Darti-Chandra (moon of the earth); Prithvi Narēndra (the Supreme lord of the earth); Tribhuvana Āditya (the Sun of the three worlds) of Angkor. The king of Thailand is called Bhūmipāla, the protector of the Earth.

Solar and Lunar race (Sūrya-vaṁśa and Chandra-vaṁśa)

The Hindu kings of India followed the ancient tradition of tracing the origin of their dynasty to the Sun (Āditya) or the Moon, Sūrya-vaṁśa and Chandra-vaṁśa respectively. This was followed by all the dynasties. Hence we get the following names like the several Sūryavarmans and Ādityavarmans of Kambūja. One of the kings of Ṭhailand is known himself as Śrī Sūryavaṁśa (c. AD 1347). There were also many Ādityavarmans. Similarly, a dynasty which ruled in Arakan (Burma) from the 8th to the 11th century was itself called the 'Chandra' dynasty and all the kings assumed the suffix Chandra to their personal names like Bhūmichandra and Dēvachandra.

God-King Concept

The concept of king as God on earth was also in vogue in ancient India as indeed it was in many other countries too. This is reflected in the famous Dēva Rāja cult as practiced by the kings of Angkor Vat. This is also implied

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in many names such as Dēva-varman, Dēva-putra, Dēva-Chandra (Arakan, Burma) included in this glossary. Names like Paramēśvara-varman, king of Champa (AD 979), and king of Java (AD 1250) may also indicate the same idea.

Names of Hindu divinities

As in India, the kings of Southeast Asia assumed the names of several Hindu Gods or deities. In India this practice was not only confined to the royal persons but also found among the lay public. The same practice obtained in Southeast Asia also. Sometimes the name of the deity was adopted according to one's sectarian affiliation—Śaivas, Vaishnavas, Buddhists, and Jains adopting the names of their respective sectarian deities. It is difficult to say whether such sharp sectarian divisions prevailed in Southeast Asia. It is generally held that Hinduism and Buddhism in the course of time coalesced and a kind of composite or syncretic religious tradition was evolved, so that in Buddhist temples some Hindu deities were also established and *vice versa*. According to the general Hindu belief, the ruling king represented the protective deity Viśṇū and the kingdom was called Rājya Śrī or Rājalakshmi. These concepts seem to have influenced the names of the kings of Southeast Asia also as seen in the following names. Viśhṇu-Rāja was another name of Sūryavarman of Angkor; Viśhṇu-varman; king of Malay (5th c. AD); Viśhṇuvardhana, king of Siṅgasaṛi; Hari-Vikramā Pushkarāksha, king of Aninditapura VII c. AD. Saiva association can be seen in names like Sambuvarman, Rudravarman in Champā, Īsānavarman, Īsānamūrti Parmēśvara-varman (king of Malacca, c. AD 1402).

Names associated with Epic Characters

Just as places associated with the Indian epics influenced the place-names in Southeast Asia such as Ayōdhya, Dhwāraka, Mathura etc., so also did the epic characters on the personal names as seen from the following examples. The kings of Chakri dynasty ruling from Ayutya, Thailand called themselves as Rāma. One of the kings of Angkor was Rāmādhipati (1425–29), one of the kings of Burma was Anirudh. Other names with the *Mahābhārata* association adopted were: Dharmarāja, Vijaya (Arjuna), Sanjaya (king of Central Java 8th c. AD), Aśvavarman of Borneo (c. AD 400); Udayaṇa, king of Kausāmbi in India as well as king of Eastern Java (11th C); Ugrasēna, king of Bali (AD 925–942). Interestingly the name of a poet during the reign of Yasōdharavarman of Angkor was Bhīmaka.

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Dharma

Another Indian concept held the ruling king as the protector of Dharma or righteousness and social order. The ideal king was called *Dharmarāja*. Reflecting this ideal are the following names: Dharmapāla, Dharma Aśōka (in Kambūja), Tamma-rāja and Dharmarāja (in Thailand), Dharma Chandra in Burma, Dharma-vamśa (king of Bali), Dharmōdaya and Prakāśa Dharma.

Simha (Lion)—association

Many Indian kings associated their names with the Simha (Lion) as mighty and majestic as the king of animals. They sat on the lion-throne called Simhāsana. Thus we are very familiar with several Hindu kings with names such as Simha-Vishṇu, Rājasimha, Narasimhavarman (of Pallava dynasty), Jayasimha, king of Sindhu (8th c. AD). The names with this prefix in Southeast Asia are: Devasimha (East Java), Rājasimha of Funan, (4th c. AD). Singavikrama-Vardhana, the king of Majapahit in Indonesia (1389–1429).

Jaya

Another practice in vogue in ancient India was to add auspicious words like Jaya or Vijaya as a prefix or suffix. These terms mean victorious or triumphant as seen from the names of several Indian kings like Jayathrata (of *Mahābhārata* epic), Jayasimha (king of Sindh, 8th c. AD) Jayavarman, king of Kalyāṇi Chalukya dynasty and Jayasimha of Kashmir (12th c.). We had several Jayavarman ruled in Indonesia from AD 713 and his Queen was Jaya Dēvi.

Vijaya

The tradition of adopting this name as prefix can be traced back to the *Mahābhārata*. The great hero Arjuna was also known as Vijaya, the victorious. Even great historic cities adopted this term as seen in names like Vijayapuri and Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh and Vijayanagar (or Hampi in Karnataka). Following this tradition we have Vijayavarman, king of Sumatra (6th c.), Vijaya-Śrī, king of Champa (11th c.) and Vijaya, king of Java (13th c.).

Śrī

'Śrī' was and continues to be a popular auspicious term in India used for cities (e.g. Śrīnagar in Kashmir) and persons like Śrīdhara-varman of Malwa (3rd c. AD) Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, a Pandya king of 9th c. One of the most powerful kingdoms of Southeast Asia in the 9th-10th c. AD was named Śrī-Vijaya or Śrī-Vishaya. Regarding personal names with Śrī, we have such names like Śrī Chulāmaṇivarmadēva of Śrī Vijaya kingdom in 10th c.; Śrī Māra, king of Champa; Śrī Sūrya vamsa, king of Siam (AD 1347).

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Vīra

This term indicates heroic qualities. Kings of several dynasties in India assumed this name to symbolize their war-like qualities. Thus, we have such illustrious names like Vīra Rājēndra Chōla, Vīra-Pāndya, Vīra-Ballāla, Vīra Kampaṇa etc. Correspondingly, we have in Southeast Asia kings with names like Vīra-Chandra (Burma, 6th c.) Vīra-Bhadravarman, king of Champapura (1390–1400), Vīra-Bhūmi, king of Majapahit (c. AD 14000), Vīra-Kumāra, Son of Jaya-varman VII of Angkor. Virēndravarman, a general is mentioned in Angkor Vat inscriptions.

Vikrama

Another favourite name used as prefix was Vikrama. The name of a legendary king Vikramāditya became a model as king par excellence in war and peace. Kings of several Indian dynasties took pride in adopting this name as seen in Chandragupta Vikramāditya (7th c.) (and several of his successors), Vikrama-Chōḷa (12th c.) Vikrama-Pāṇḍya (13th c.) etc. Correspondingly, there were: Vikrama Varman I and II of Champa in 7th c. AD ; Vikrama Vardhana of Mataram (Indonesia) (1389 AD).

Names of Queens and other Women

As mentioned earlier, according to the ancient Hindu tradition, the ruling king was Vishṇu, the protective God and his kingdom was his consort Rājyalakshmi. This concept is truly reflected in the following names of the queens in Southeast Asia also: The queen of Bhavavarman, king of Chenla was Lakshmi (6th c. AD) and the Queen of Jaya varman II of Kambūja was Kambūja Rājalakshmi; the queen of Indravarman of Annam (c. 1288) was Gaudēndra Lakshmi; Narēndra Lakshmi, queen of Rudravarman of Chenla. The sister of king Jayavarman V (968) was Indralakshmi.

As in the names of kings, names with 'Jaya' association are also found among the queens and royal ladies: Jayadēvi, queen of Jayavarman (c. 713) Jayarājya Chūḍāmaṇi, mother of Jayavarman VII Īsāna-tunga-Vijaya, queen of Śrī Lōkapāla of East Java (AD 980).

Names with 'Śrī' were: Śrī-Vijaya-Mahādēvi, queen of Bali (AD 975); Śrī-Prabha, queen mother of Jayavarman of Angkor. Names associated with Hindu Goddesses were also popular as seen in the following: Bhasavasvāmini, queen of Jayavarman II (802–814), Bhavāni, queen mentioned in an inscription in Angkor Vat, Bhāskaradēvi, queen of Jyasimhavarman III of Annam, chandra-dēvi, queen of Balsili, Burma (AD 957). Gāyatri, queen of Kertanagara (c. 1268). Indra-dēvi, queen of Jayavarman VII of Angkor and Indumati, daughter of Rājendravarman II. Some more names of the queens were: Nrpēndra Dēvi, Promōdavardhani, etc.

Among the other Sanskritic names of women were: Bhagavati, wife of Būpēndrasūri, a high official of Jayavarman VI; Gūnapriya-Dharmapatni,

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queen of Udayana of East Java (989–1001); Tilaka, a learned woman during the reign of Jayavarman VI of Cambodia. Prabhāvati, the daughter of Kēsavabhatta of Cambodia; Prabu-dēvi, a donor Tribhuvana-vajra (a Buddhist lady).

Names of Preceptors, Poets and the Common folk

We see the influence of Sanskrit on the personal names of teachers, preceptors (*guru*) and the common people. A few such examples may be cited here: The name of a poet during the reign of Yasōvarman of Angkor was Bhīmaka. Some of the preceptors, Brahmins, etc. are as follows: Āchārya Vidyā-vinaya (Cambodia c. AD 629); The term is significant as it reflects the typical Hindu ideal of the combination of twin qualities of knowledge (*vidya*) and humility (*vinaya*). Vidya-Guru was a teacher in Kambūja the 5th c. AD; Ātma-Śiva was the royal priest of Harshavarman III of Kambūja; Ārya-Vidyādēva and Mukyāchārya, and Rudrāchārya are known from the inscriptions of Cambodia.

Association with Vedic sacrifices (Yajñas) is seen in Yajñavarāha, the preceptor of Sāyavarman of Angkor (AD 924). One of the kings of Khmer, Harihara called himself Yjñapatīśvara, implying that he was the Lord or sponsor of sacrifices. (Compare the names of the Satavahana king Yajña-Satakarani). Yjñapati is also one of the names of Vishṇu as contained in Vishṇu-Sahasranāma (verse 104).

The name of a high civil and religious officer during the reign of Jayavarman VI was Būpēndra-Paṇḍita. Kavīśvara Paṇḍita was the name of a *Pāncharātra* priest in Cambodia. The royal preceptor of Sūryavarman II was Divākara Paṇḍita. The suffix *paṇḍita* is a well-known honorific term given to scholars and also Brahmin priests. As in India, the Brahmins assumed the suffix Sarman even as the kings (Kshatriyas) took Varman as their suffix. Thus, we have Sōmaśarman who installed the image of Tribhuvanēśvara in the reign of Bhavavarman; Āditya-śarman mentioned in Lobok Srot inscription (Cambodia).

The names of some more priests/preceptors/Brahmins were: Bhaṭṭāraguru, Brahma-Sakti, Bhāgavata, Bharma-svāmi, Dharma-vāsa, Bharma-Darshi (a BuddList monk), Hirānya-dāmā Īśāna-datta, Īśāna-mūrti, Jñānapriya (lover of divine knowledge), Rāmabhāgavata (author of a Sanskrit work). Sōma-Śiva, Sōmēśvara bhāṭṭa, Sūrya-bhāṭṭa, Sarvajña-muni, Chakraswāmi, Subha-kīrti (a Buddhist monk).

The foregoing analysis and classification of the personal names are suggestive rather than exhaustive. References given to the names are brief. For greater details, the readers have to refer to their respective entries in the List given below: Details of dates and references to the entries are given as far as possible and the Key to the references is also provided in the footnote below.

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List of Personal Names[1]

A

Āditya-varman: Founder of Minangkabau kingdom of Jambi—Malay mentioned in an inscription of 1375. Probably son of Maulivarma Dēva of Sumatra (H:99)

Āditya-śarman: Name of a person mentioned in Lobok Srot inscription (MKS:92)

Adivijaya: of Pajang also known as Jaka Tingkir was a prince during the rule of Majapahit in Indonesia. He became the Sultan of Pajang in 1568; he was called Sultan Sūrya Alam, 'Sun of the World' (H:303)

Agastya: Sanctuary of Agastya at Dinaya in East Java in 760, founded by Gajayana (H:52,74). An inscription from Ratubaka plateau near Prambanan mentions erection of lingas by a prince with a name synonymous of Agastya to celebrate the victory. D. 856 (H:56)

Aniruddha: Founder of the Pagan kingdom in Burma (1044–77). He united Burma politically. (H:158) (= Anawrath in Burmese) Ananda Mahidol: king of Bangkok, 1935. (H:977)

Anourout: Thai ruler (1791) (H:980). Local form of Aniruddh.

Amaratakēśvara: Name of the Saivate deity in Utong to which Īśānavarman gave a grant. (RCM:187)

Atīsa: Tibetan Buddhist reformer—is said to have studied Buddhism in Śrī Vijaya from 1011–1023 under Dharma-Kīrti, the head of the Buddhist Clergy in Sumatra. (H:67)

Āchārya Vidya Vinaya: Dedicated a Śiva linga in Saka 551 (AD 629), according to an Sanskrit inscription named Phulokhon inscription in Cambodia. (MKS:86)

Annādhipati: Name of an official probably in charge of food supply mentioned in a Cambodian inscription (MKS:158)

Āryamaitri: Mentioned in Phum Da stele inscription. (MKS:114)

Ārya Vidyādēva: Established an *Āśrama* mentioned in a Svay Chno inscription near Phnom Penh in Cambodia. (MKS:84)

Amirtagarbha: Son of Jayēndra Varman of Cambodia erected a temple for Harimandira in 883. (RCM. I. K:71)

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[1] **Works consulted with their abbreviations:**

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Ātmāśiva: Son of Īśānamūrti's brother. During the reign of Harshavarman III, he was the royal priest. (MKS:260)

Āditya Rāja: Mon king contemporary of Sūryavarman II c. 1137. (RCM:200)

Āryavīra Rāja: An official of high rank of Java under Kritanagara (c. 1270) (RCM:55).

Āryāśvara: Name of a king, Kadari, 1171 (RCM:51)

Aswavarman: Father of king Mūlavarman mentioned in Sanskrit inscription in Borneo in c. 400 (RCM:24)

Anusapati: king of the dynasty of Singosari, AD 1227.

Ānanda-chandra: Described the king of Tamarapattana in Arakan; its capital at Vesalī issued the inscription at Mrohaung Shitthaung Temple at Mrhaung. (RCM:233)

B

Bāgyidaw: king of Burma, son of Bodawpaya c. AD 1800 (H:637–38)

Bālāditya: king of Aninditapura in Cambodia mentioned in the Prasat Komphus inscription. (MKS: 107)

Bālādhyaksha: High ranking official mentioned in an inscription in Cambodia. (MKS: 157)

Bhavavarman I: king of Chenla dynasty. AD 580–598. Grandson of Rudravarman of Funan married Kambūja Rajalakshmi of Chenla dynasty of Cambodia. (H:964; MKS: 33)

Bavavārman II: 635–640 Who had his capital at Sambupura. Kauṇḍinya dynasty. Founder of Bhavapura. (MKS: 34)

Bālaputra-dēva: Sailēndra, king-son of Samastunga. 9th c. (H:56)

Bamorāja: king of Siam (I to V)—15th to 17th Century (KKB:200–2)

Bhāgavata: Name of a person to whom land and cow were gifted by one ascetic named Īsānadatta. A. N. G. Pu Vat Phu Inscription (ISEA:47)

Bhagavata-kavi: Title of king Jayavarman II Prasat Kok Po Inscription (MKS:93)

Bhagavati: Wife of Bhupēndr-sūri. Prasat Tor Stele Inscription (MKS:125)

Bhagavati: name of the Goddess Kautharēśvari in the temple of Po-nagara the family temple of Chamus (RCM. 168)

Bhūpēndra Sūri: Inspector of magistrates during the reign of Jayavarman VI and Sūryavarman the II. (MKS:125)

Bhūpēndra Paṇḍita: A title given to Subhadra alias Murda-Śrī by Jayavarman VI he occupied a high civil and religious office. (MKS:120)

Bhāsasvāmini: A Brahmana wife of Jayavarman II (802–8) (MKS:190)

Bhavachandra: A donor to the Siva temples mentioned in an inscription of

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Jayavarman dated AD 681 (Cambodia). (MKS:131)

Brahma Sakti: Founder of a linga in a village in the district of Kompon spu province. (Cambodia) (MKS:131)

Bhavāni: Name of the queen mentioned in Angkor Vat. Her other name was Indradevi. (MKS:227)

Bhavāni: Goddess installed during the reign of Jayavarman. Temples of Loley in the district of Roulous. (Cambodia) (MKS:97)

Bhīmaka: Name of an author or a poet who rivaled Sura. Stele inscription of Yosovarman. (Eastern Baray Inscription).

Bhadrādhi-patīśvara: Name of the deity of the temple in Champa destroyed in 787 and rebuilt in 799 by Indrabahrēsvara. (RCM:123)

Bhadravarman: king of Champa ruled over the provinces of Amarāvati and Vijaya. Builder of Bhadraswara Swāmi Temple at My-Son. A Vedic scholar. (4th c. AD) (RCM:117)

Bhāgadatta: One of the kings of Chanasa in Korat (RCM:187) Bhāskara-dēvi: Queen of Jayashima varman III Annam (14th c.) (RCM:150)

Bhaṭṭāra-guru: A popular deity in Java, two armed standing figurē pot-bellied and with beard holding water pot and rosary identified as Siva as Mahayogi by some and as sage Agastya by others. (RCM:98)

Bodawpaya: Of the Alaungpaya dynasty Burma (1799–1802)

Bāgyida: Grandson of Bodawpaya 1819. (H:959)

Buddhaketi: (Smim Htaw) Burmese ruler. 1740 (H:960)

Bahubalin: king of Arakan (H:961)

Bhūmi-chandra: Ruler of Arakan of chandra dynasty. E. H:Johnston 'some Sanskrit inscription of Arakon' (BSOAS, no. 10, 21, p. 357–385)

Bhūti-chandra: Ibid.

Baron Racha (alias) Ramāthipati: king of Angkor (1425–1429) (H:965)

Balitung, Rāca Vatukura: king of Middle Java (898–910) (H:970) Bhasadarma: Champa, 4th dynasty AD 645 (H:967)

Bhadrēśvara-varman: Champa, 4th dynasty AD 645

Būmipāl Adulet: Ruler of Bangkok AD 946 (H:977)

Bhraparamēśvara: Son-in-law of king of Java of the Majapahit dynasty AD 1406. (MKS:68)

Bhuvanāditya-īśvaradvīpa: Mahāsēnapati of king Dharmasōka, king of Siam c. 1167 AD (MKS:253)

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C

Chakri: Name of a ruling dynasty of Thailand.

Camadēvi: Name of a Queen. (RCM:233) daughter of king of Lavapuri. Her descendents ruled over the kingdom of Haripunjaya 7th c. (RCM. 220)

Chanda-dēvi: Queen of the king of Basili. Also Queen of Chula-tain chandra king of Vesali in Burma. AD 957. (RCM:233)

Chandra, Chuli-tan: king of Vesali in Burma AD 957. (RCM:233)

Chandra: Name of the dynasty that ruled in Burma from 8th to 11th Century. Nearly 13 kings are listed with the names ending with Chandra. (RCM:233–235)

Chandra Bhānu: Ruler of Sailendra's of Sumatra c. AD 1230. (RCM:40, 41)

Chandra Bhayasingha-varma-dēva: king of Bali c. 960 AD (RCM:82)

Chandra Āditya: Buddhist king at Chahiyuphunin in Cambodia. (RCM:188)

Chitra-Sēna: Chitra-Sēna brother of Bhavavarman of Champa. He became king and assumed name Mahendravarman c. 600 AD (RCM:185)

Chūḍamāṇi-varman: Sailēndra king. A contemporary of Rāja Rāja Chola I after whom the Chūḍamaṇi-Vihāra at Nagapattinam was called c. AD 1006 (RCM:37–38)

Chandrōdaya: Probably same as Chandra-sūrya.

Chakrapati, king: king of Ayutiya in Thailand. (H:290)

Chakravarti Rāja: Name assumed by Jayavarman II of Cambodia (802–850 AD) (MKS:256)

Chaupēśvara: Name of the deity at Pre Rup, in Angkor region (MKS:105)

D

Dēva-Kara: Name of a Brahmin who married the younger sister Indralakshmi Queen of king Jayavarman (MKS:191–92)

Dvāra-varman: king of West Java AD 435. (H:970)

Dēva-putra: The title assumed by some kings of Cambodia (MKS:263)

Dēva-Rāja: Means God-king, a popular title assumed by kings of Cambodia.

Dēva Raja Mahā Senāpati: Name of army chief of king Jaya Paramēswaravarman, the king of Annam; he led the victorious army against the province of Panduranga in 1050 AD (RCM:132)

Dharma-Dēva: Name of a minister of Bhavavarman (MKS:149)

Dharmapāla: He installed the image of the God Achuta according to Baset Stele inscription in Vat-Po-Val (MKS:130)

Dharmasōka: king of Angkor Cambodia who ruled from 1429–1431. (MKS:41)

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Dharma-swāmi: Name of a Brahmin learned in Vedas and Vedangas and chief of the temple at Dharmapura with library, hospital, alms-house (Chatra) and a pond. Tan Kran Inscriptions. (MKS:89)

Dharmavāsa: The name of a sage who made the cave Sambhu and a tank near by. He was born in Dharmavastapura Pon Prah Thuvar cave Inscription (MKS:115)

Dharmēndravarman: The constitution of Angkor Vat (during the reign of Suryavarman II AD 1112–1152 was completed by him). (MKS:37)

Devatāmūrti: Another name for Śrī Harivarmadeva, the founder of the dynasty of Harivarman IV in Champa c. AD 1075. (RCM. 135)

Dēva-varman: Hindu king of Java who sent an embassy to China in AD 132

Dēva-varman: king of Champa III dynasty ruled in 510 AD (H:967) (RCM. 22)

Dharanīndravarman: king of Kampuchea and the elder brother of Jayavarman VI, ruled from 1107. (RCM:119)

Dharma-chandra: king of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, Burma. (RCM. 233)

Dharma-darshi: alias Arakan, a monk of phaton who converted king Aniruddha of Burma to the pure Theravada form of Buddhism. (RCM. 239)

Dharma-Rāja: name of a king mentioned in the Dong Duong inscription dated AD 875. Father of Ping sri Rudravarman. (RCM. 124)

Dharma-vamsa: king of East Java, his daughter married to Airlangga. 10th Century AD (RCM:47)

Dharma vamsa—Vardana Marakata Panghajasthanot-tungadēva: king of Bali (AD 1022–1026) (RCM. 82)

Dharma-vijaya: king of Chandra dynasty of Arakan, Burma. c. 6th Century AD

Dharmaya: Author of the old Javanese Kāvya Smaradhana, which praises king Kāmēśwara of Kadiri (12th Century AD) (RCM. 51)

Dharmōdaya Maha Sambhu: king of Mataram in Java (AD 899–910). Another name for Balithung. (RCM. 44–45)

Dakshōttama: Successor of Bharmōdaya of Mataram in Java. (ca. 913 AD) (RCM. 45)

Daksha Rakahino: king in middle Java, AD 915 (H:970)

Divākara Paṇḍita: Royal Guru of Sūryavrman II the celebrated king of Kampuchea (1113–1145 AD) (RCM:200)

Dēva-chandra: of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan. (H:962)

Dhrti-chandra: of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan. (H:962)

Dēvanishkala: king of West Java (H:970)

Dēva-Simha: king of East Java AD 760 (H:970)

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G

Gambhīrēsvara: Name of a deity in Khmer Inscription in Cambodia AD 609–611. (MKS:197)

Gunapativarman: Personal name mentioned in inscription, Basset temple inscriptions. (RCM., I. K:347)

Gunavarman: Prince mentioned in the 6th Century AD Inscription: Prasat Pram Loven Consecrated a footprint of Vishnu. (MKS:81)

Guru Suvira: Name of a donor to a temple called Vat Tasar Moroy (MKS:133)

Gajahmada: Name of a General in the reign of Jaya Nagara in the kingdom of Java AD 1319 (RCM:63–64)

Ganga Rāja: king of Champa identified with Ti'Chen, 4th Century AD (RCM:118)

Gaudēndralakshmi: Queen of king Indravarman V of Annam (c. 1288) (RCM:149). Mother of Prince Harijit.

Gautama Subhadra: The Buddhist king of Sumatra in 602. His son Vijayavarman sent an emissary to China in 519 AD (RCM:24)

Giṛindra Vardhana Rānavijaya: king of Daha. One of the last Hindu kings of Java c. 1486. (RCM:69)

Gūna Priya' Dharmapatni: Daughter of king Makūta Vamsa Vardana and Queen of Udayana of Eastern Java. c. AD 989–1001 (RCM:47)

Gajayana: Founder of a temple of Agastya at Dinaya in East Java in 760 AD (H:52)

Gāyatri: Queen of Kertanagara.

H

Harivarman I: king of Champa 9th Century AD (H:968) Also king of Champa AD 1147 (RCM:139)

Hari-Vikrama: king of Vikrama dynasty ruling at Śrī-Kshētra in Burma. 7th Century AD (H:154)

Harsha-varman II: king of Angkor 10th Century AD. (H:120)

Hamasa-Jaya: Name of a shrine near Sambor, probably for Vishnu (MKS:291)

Hari-mandira: Shrine erected by Amirta Garbha. Son of Jayēndravarman AD 883 (RCM., I. K. p.71)

Hirānyadāma: A Brahmin who taught Tantra to Siva Kivalya during the time of Jayavarman II of Kambhoja AD 802 (MKS:35)

Hirāya-varman: Son of king Bavavarman. Sister married to learned Brahmana Somasarman (Cambodia 6th Century AD) (MKS:192)

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I

Indra varman (Popular name assumed by both kings of Champa and Khmer. There were many Indravarmans like (I-VI) 14th Century): king of Champa in the king of the dynasty of Pandu ranga in Champa 8th Century AD made donations to the temple of Sankaranrāyāna (RAC:123)

Indra-pramēśwara: Name of the deity of the temple installed by Indravarman (RAC:123)

Indra Bhōgēsvara: Deity installed by Indravarman at Vīrapura (RAC:123)

Indra Dēvi: Queen of Indravarman of Khambuja c. 877 AD (RCM:193)

Indra Dēvi: Queen of Jayavarman the 7th of Angkor a distinguished Buddhist scholar and Sanskrit poetess (H:132)

Indra Āditya: A Thai chief who founded an independent kingdom with Sukhodaya as the capital some time around 1250 AD (RCM:205)

(Śrī) Īsanatunga-Vijaya: Queen of king Śrī Lōhapāla of Eastern Java c. 950 AD (RCM:47)

Īsānavarman I: king of Kamboja of Chenla c. 611 AD (H:964)

Īsānavarman II: king of Silēndra c. 782–812 AD (H:55)

Indra-lakshmi: Sister of Jayavarman the 5th c. 968–1001. Married to Divākara a Brahmin from Northern India. (H:120)

Indralōka which was the posthumous name of the king (MKS:93)

Indumati: Also known as Indra-lakshmi daughter of Rājēndravarman II and wife of Divakara a Brahmana from Brindavan. (RCM., I. K:285)

Īsāna bhadrēśvara: The name of a linga mentioned in Angkor Vat inscription (MKS:130)

Īsāna-datta: Name of a Bhāgavata to whom Īsānavarman gave a gift mentioned in Vat Pu inscriptions. (MKS:84)

Īsāna-mūrthi: Chief priest during the reign of Jayavarman the fourth. (MKS:259)

Īśvara-kumāra: Built a temple to Harihara and related to Krishna-mitra 7th Century AD mentioned in Camnon inscription (province Prei kravas, Cambodia) (MKS:132)

J

Jayachandra-varman: king of Pyus of the Irawadi valley, 7th c. AD

Jayavarman I: king of Chenla c. 650 AD

Jayavarman (II—VIII): kings of Angkor (802–1243 AD)

Jayavarman Paramēśwara: king of Angkor (1327–53 AD) (H:965); king of Champa, 8th dynasty 1044 AD (H:968); Khmer 11th dynasty. (1220 AD)

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Jayabhaya: Succeeded Airlanga of Java. (1135–57 AD) (H:80)

Jaya Dēvi: Queen of Jayavarman I c. AD 713 (H:964)

Jaya Rāja Dēvi: Queen of Jayavarman the 7th king of Angkor 1181 AD (H:132)

Jitēndra: Sailendra king and patron of the Sanskrit work Amaramala. (Old Javanese translation) (H:54)

Jhānavi: A royal person sister of Yajñavarāha the preceptor of Jayavarman the 5th. Bantaya, Śrī Inscription. (MKS: 106)

Jaya Buddha: A title assumed by Jayavarman VII of Cambodia 1191 AD (MKS: 265)

Jayakshētra: Name of the deity consecrated in Cambodia. (RCM., I. K:347)

Jaya Mahāpradāna: A Brahmana priest of Bhāradwāja Gōtra from Burma who came to Kumbuja on hearing that there were many Vedic scholars in the country (MKS: 129)

Jaya Mangaḷārtha: Daughter of Jayamahāpradāna, a Vedic Brahmana, she became a professor for whom a statue erected by king Jayavarman. Angkor Temple Inscription. (MKS: 129)

Jayarāja Chūḍāmāni: Daughter of Harshavarman and mother of Jayavarman VII (Taprohm Inscription) (MKS: 121)

Jayēndra: Name of a Queen donor (from Vat Tasar Moroy Inscription) Cambodia. (MKS: 133)

Jayēndravarman: Father of Amirta Garbha, Cambodia AD 883 (MKS: 245)

Jnāna-chandra: Minister of Jayavarman. ((Tuol Kok Prah Inscription) MKS: 87)

Jnāna-Priya: A Yogin who installed a linga, Phum Da Stele Inscription (MKS: 114)

Jana Sādhu Varma Dēva: king of Bali AD 975 (RCM. 82)

K

Kālamēgha: king in Angkor identified with Hu-Erh-Na of the Miang records. c. 1377–83 AD (H:140)

Kāmēśvara: A Javanese king mentioned in a poem Smārādhana by Dharmaja c. 1250 AD (H:80)

Kērtangara: king of Singosari, Son of Vishnuvardana. c. 1268 (H:83) Kirta may be a local form of Kirti.

Kērtarajasa Jayavardhana (Vijaya): A king of Java with Majapahit as his headquarters c. 1293 AD (H:90)

Kērta-Vardhana: Prince of Singosari in Java c. 1350 AD (H:95) Kumbha-Yōni: king, Java 9th Century AD (H:57–58)

Kunjarakunja: Place name in the island of Java, where king Sanjaya Mataram erected a linga 8th Century AD (H:52) Probably his title.

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Kambūja Rājalakshmi: A queen of Jayavarman II of Kambūja AD 802 (MKS: 34)

Kambūjēndrādhirāja (alias) Harshavarman I: king Angkor, AD 9000 (H:964)

Kambu Svamuhuva: Name of a hermit. The originator of Kambūja dynasty according to Backesei Camkron Inscription (MKS: 21)

Kavīśvara-paṇḍta: A pāñcarātra priest and guru of the hermitages of Īsānapura, Sūryapura, etc. mentioned in an inscription in Cambodia. (MKS: 239)

Kavīndrārimathan: A king mentioned Bat Cum Inscription in Cambodia. (MKS: 104)

Kēdārēsvara: Name of a deity (Śiva) worshipped in Cambodia. (MKS: 235)

Kēsava-bhāṭṭa: The founder of the family to which the Jayavarman II of Cambodia belonged. (MKS: 98)

Kīrtti-paṇḍita: A Buddhist minister of Jayavarman V of Cambodia. (MKS:8)

Kīrtti-Varman: A renowned scholar and minister of Jayavarman the 5th. (MKS: 184) Krtīndra-Paṇḍita: A person probably a royal preceptor in the court of Sūryavarmaṇ his genealogy is given in an inscription at Vat Thipedi. (MKS: 111)

Kulaprabhāvati: Queen of Jayavarman I whose donation of a tank and dwelling house to Brahmanas of Kurumbanagara mentioned in an inscription Jayavarman (king of Funan) c. 475–514 AD (MKS: 81)

Kauṇḍinya: The legendary Brahmin founder of the Funan kingdom around Ist Century AD He identified with Hun-tien of the Chinese records. Another of the same name known as Kuṇdinya II ruled in Funan in the 5th Century AD (H:14, 25, 32)

L

Lakshmi: Princess of the Kambu-Mera dynasty and Queen of Bhavavarman, king of Chenla 6th Century AD (H:105) Lakshmīndra: Brother of Queen Kambūja-rāja lakshmi Queen of Jayavarman II of Cambodia. His other name was Viśnuvala. (MKS: 244)

Linga-rājēndra Bhadresvara: Name of deity (Sivalinga) in Pre-Rup Temple in the Angkor region. (MKS: 105)

Linga-siddhēsvara: Deity of a temple (Linga) mentioned in Mebon Inscription in Angkor Thom. (MKS: 103)

Lokēśvara: A name for Buddha mentioned in Phimanaka inscription in Angkor Thom. (RCM. 170)

M

Mahā-Chakrapat (Tien): A title of the king in Burma 16th Century AD (H:287)

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Mahātēwi (Devi): Princess Maha-tēwi of Burma in 1540.

Mahā-Uparat: Prince in Burma, son of Trilok. 15th Century. (RCM. 198)

Mahīpativarman: king of Cambodia with capital at Angkor Borei. (H:111–112)

Māra Vijayōttunga-Varma: king of Śrīvijaya. Son of Chulāmani-Varma Dēva. c. 1008 (H:67)

Maulivarmadēva: king of Malayu. c. 1343. (H:98–99)

Mahīdaravarman: An ascetic mentioned in Chikreng inscription. Cambodia. (MKS: 121)

Mahēndravarman: Brother and General of Bhavavarman the Ist of Lower Chenla line. His other name was Chitrasēna. AD 598–610. (MKS: 33)

Maitrēyi: A Buddhist deity involved in Thma Puok inscription. Cambodia. (MKS: 137)

Mukhyāchārya: name of a chief preceptor. (MKS: 204)

Mūlavarman: king of Borneo, 5th Century AD (MKS: 81)

N

Nāgasēna: Name of a monk in the court of Kaundinya Jayavarman of Funan. c. 514 AD (H:32)

Nandabayin: A ruler in Burma. c. 1570 (H:294)

Narapati: A king of Ava in Bura 1443–69 AD (H:176)

Narapatisithu: king of Pegan in Burma. c. 1175 (H:165–167)

Nārāyana Rāmādhipati (Ping-ya): king of Angkor AD 1400. (H:141)

Narenasuen: king of Siam. c. AD 1580. (H:148)

Norōdom: (Narōttam) king of Cambodia. c. 1860. (H:690)

Norōdom Sihanohka: king of Cambodia. c. 1947. (H:920)

Naimisēśvara: Name of a deity, (Siva) in Funan. (MKS: 235)

Nrtyēśvara: name of a deity (Siva) worshipped in Funan for whom a golden image was dedicated by Jayavarman VII. (MKS: 122, 235)

Nrapatīndra-Varman: A royal person of the family of Vrai Kanlon mentioned in Prasat sralau inscription Cambodia. 11th Century AD (MKS: 117, 118)

Narapativarman: The elder brother and general of king Udayādiya-varman. He installed a golden image of Vīśnu in Prasat Khana. (MKS: 109)

Narēndra-Lakshmi: Wife of Rudra-varman of Khmer. (MKS: 118)

Narendra-parichāraka: Name of a commander. (MKS: 162)

Nrpānataranga-Yaudha: Name of leader of Royal bodyguards. (RCM. Cambujadesa. 59)

Narēndra-varman: king of Cambodia 7th Century AD (MKS: 191)

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Nrpāntaranga: Name of an official to protect the king, mentioned in Khmer text. (MKS: 154)

Nrpēndra-dēvi: Name of the Queen mentioned in the Vat Tasar Moroy inscription. (MKS: 133)

Nrpēndra Yudhasvāmi: Name of a deity mentioned in Khmer text in Basak Stele Inscription. (MKS: 137)

Nandan Varma-dēva: Khambuja Prince and General c. AD 1080 (RCM. 199)

Narapatishimavarman: king of Chanasa in Korat. Son of Sundaravarman 10th Century AD (RCM. 187)

Nrashima (Naratheinka): king of Arimardanapura empire. c. 1173 AD (RCM. 244)

Narashima-mūrthy: Joint ruler with Visnuvardana of Singhasari, Indonesia c. 1254–1260 (KKB:95–95)

Naaravāhana-varman: king of Champa at Myson, c. 7th Century AD (RCM. 122)

Nīti-Chandra: king of Arakan in Burma c. 6th Century AD (RCM. 233)

Nripadiāditya: A king of Khambuja c. 8th Century AD (RCM. 187)

Natōnmya (Nandaungmya): (1211–1231 AD) A pagan ruler. (J. F. Cady 125)

P

Pādukarāja: Chief minister of Malacca during the reign of Mahmud sond and successor of Ibrahim. c. 1683. (H:372–373)

Paramēśwara Varman: king of Champa. c. 979 AD (H:203)

Paramēśwara: Founder of Malacca 1402 AD (RCM. 75)

Phūmiphon Adundet (Bhūmipāla): king of Sam c. 1947 (H:897)

Prajadhi Pok: Prince of Siam c. 1917. (H:847)

Prakāsa-dharma: king of Champa c. 7th Century. (H:201)

Pramōda-vardhani: Princess of Sailendra dynasty of Indonesia. 9th Century. c. 840. (H:56, 57)

Prapancha: Name of head of the Buddhist clergy author of a poem Nagarakērtagama 1365 AD. Sung in honour of king of Majapahit, Rajasanagara. (H:83, 87)

Pṛidibanomyong: king of Siam. Professor of Law at Chulaong Korn University. 1932. (H:849)

Pūrnavarman: king of West Java. c. 400 AD (H:970)

Pushkarāksha: Son of Nripatindra-varman of Aninditapura. 7th Century AD (RCM. 186–187)

Pyasūriya: Governor of Korat. 1782. (H:486)

Paramatha Kēmarāja: king of Cambodia. 1330–1353 AD (MKS: 41)

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Pasupata-Achārya: Name of a religious teacher and donor mentioned during the time of king Bhavavarman of Cambodia. (MKS: 82)

Prithvī-Narēndra: Name of an important minister of Jayavarman II of Cambodia. (MKS: 117)

Prabhāvati: Daughter of Dēsava-bhāṭta a founder of Jayavarman II family of Cambodia. (MKS: 98)

Prachanda Simha: Name of a commander of palace-guards and son of Dharmaswāmi during the time of Jayavarman I. (MKS: 89)

Prthvīndra varman: Title of the king of Cambodia. (MKS: 152)

Pāṇḍudēvanātha: A king mentioned in the legends of Java as an ancestor. (RCM. 21)

Paramēśwara Śrī-Virama: king of Java 1250 AD (RCM. 82)

Prabhuvarma Śrī and Prabhu dēvi: Names of the donors mentioned in Pyu inscription on a Stupa probably king and his Queen c. 7th Century AD (RCM. 228)

Pralayēśvara dharmarāja: Father of Harivarman the IV of Champa. 11th Century AD (RCM. 135)

Pṛitichandra: Of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan (Burma) (RCM. 233)

Paramēśwara Sikandar Sha: A Muslim king of Malacca. c. 1420. (R. c. 76)

R

Rājasavardhana: king of Majapahit dynasty, who reigned 1451–53 (H.104)

Rājēndravarman I: king of Cambodia. c. 8th Century AD (H:110–111) Another king of the same name in Angkor monarchy. Son of Indravarman I, c. 944 AD (H:120)

Rāma I-V: kings of Siam.

Rāma-Bhāgavata: Name of an author of Sanskrit work mentioned in Vat-cum inscription in Cambodia. (MKS: 104)

Rāma Tibōdi (Ramaḍhipati): The first king of Ayutia and Siam c. 1350 (H:140, 192, 193)

Rāma Tibōdi (Ramadhipati): II of Jetta 1491–1529 of Siam. (H:198, 199)

Rudravarman: king of Funan c. 514–39 AD (H:964)

Rudravarman I-IV: king of Champa, Fourth dynasty. (c. AD 529 to 1145) (H:967–969)

Rājabhadrēśvara: Deity probably called after the king who constructed it. Pre-Rup Inscription in Angkor. (H:261)

Rājēṇdra Paṇḍta: A title of Bhupēdnra Paṇḍita. Also called Sūriya Paṇḍita in the reign of Suryavarman II of Angkor. (MKS: 125)

Ratna-bhānu and Ratna Shima: Names of Bhikshu (ascetics) in the reign of Jayavarman. (MKS: 87)

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Rudrāchārya: The Guru of Rājēndravarman mentioned in Pracat Pram inscription (MKS: 103)

Ranganātha: Name of a minister during the reign of Kritangara of Java. 13th Century (RCM. 55)

S

Sambhu-varman: king of Champa (4th dynasty), c. 605 AD (H:967) and also of Chenla dynasty of 8th Century (H:964)

Samaratunga: Sailendra king (9th Century) (H:55)

Sangrāma Vijayattunga Varman: Śrīvijaya king of 11th Century (H:68)

Samarādhi Pati-Varman: Governor of Bhavapura (RCM., I. K. 310)

Sankara Nārāyāna: Name of a deity mentioned in the Barai Inscription (MKS: 89)

Sanjaya: of the kingdom of Mataram in Central Java. (8th Century AD) (H:22–57)

Samaravikrama: Uncle of Yasōvarman, Angkor Thom inscription (MKS: 250)

Sālagrāma-svāmi: Name of a donor and probably a deity in Cambodia. (MKS: 250)

Sidha: Author of the poem Bhārata-Yuddha during the reign of Jayabhaya c. 1135–1157 king of Kadiri.

Singavikrama Vardana: Majapahit king 1389–1429 (H:103, 104) Souvanna-Phouma: Prince of Cambodia. (H:922. 923)

Sōma-sarman: He installed an image of Tribhuvanēśvara according to Veal Kantel inscriptions. His wife was sister of Bhavavarman. (MKS: 83)

Srei-Chulāmani Varmadēva: Śrī Vijaya king of the 10th Century (H:66).

Śrīdēva: Sailendra king 11th Century (H:68).

Somēśvara-bhāṭṭa: Teacher in Vedic rituals and one who performed in numerable homes in the reign of Rājēndravarman. (RCM., I. K. 261)

Śrī-māra: king of Champa (H:27)

Sukarno: President of Indonesia (1949) reminds us of the *Mahābhārata* character Karna and parallels of names like Sugṛiva of the Ramayana. (H:794, 795)

Sūrya-Varman I and II: kings of Angkor. 1002, 1113 AD

Sūryavikrama: king of Śrīkskhētra Burma. c. 7th Century (H:153, 154)

Samaragravīra: Sailendra king of 9th Century AD His son Bālaputradēva built a monastery at Nalanda. (RCM. 35)

Siva-Sōma: Guru of Indravarman, he was a grandson of king Śrī Jayēndrapativarman. He learned the *sāstras* from Bhgavat Sankara 9th Century AD (RCM. 211)

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Simha-dēva: Minister of Bhavavarman (MKS: 149)

Sarvajñamuni: A Brahmin well versed in the Vedas and the *Āgamas* he and his descendants occupied high religious offices in Kambūja-desa. (RCM. 211)

Sarvōśvara: king of Kadiri c. 1160.

Sakrasvāmin: A Brahmin who married a daughter of king Jayavarman I, 8th Century AD (RCM. 211)

Srēśtha-varman: c. 545–560. king of Lower Chenla, Cambodia Son of Srutavarman. (MKS: 33).

Srutavarman: king of Khambuja (AD 500) (MKS: 33).

Śrī-Sūrya-Vamsa: Rāma Mahā dharma Rājādhi Rāja: king of Siam 1347 AD He set up images of Vīśnu and Siva and patronized learned Buddhists from Ceylon. (RCM. 263)

Śrī-Vijaya-Mahā dēvi: Queen of Jana sadhu varmadēva of Bali AD 975 (RCM. 82)

Sundara Parākrama: king of Chanassa in Korat and his son Sundaravarman. (RCM. 187)

Sūrya-kētu: king of Arakan in the line of Tagaung of Vesali (RCM. 232, 233)

Śrīkēdārāsvara: Name of deity (Siva) installed in the time of Jayavarman I. (MKS: 88)

Śrī-Mahēndra Paṇḍita: Mentioned as a Grand priest well versed in Dharma sastras. (Cambodia) (MKS: 206)

Śrī-Prabha: Mother of the Queen of Jayavarman mentioned in Angkor Temple inscription. (MKS: 128, 129)

Śrī-Puṇḍarikāksha: Name of a deity at Sveta dipa mentioned in Prasat Kok Po inscription. (MKS: 93)

Subhakīrtti: A Buddhist monk during the time of king Jayavarman, mentioned in Vat Prei Var inscription. (MKS: 87)

Sūryabhāṭṭa: A Brahmin who did the ablution of holy water in the festival in the reign of Jayavarman VII Angkor. (MKS: 123)

Sūryalakshmi: Niece of a minister. Bantay-Srei inscription. (MKS: 128)

Sūrya-paṇḍta: Title of the son of Bhūpēndra-sūri (Bhūpēndra paṇḍta) Prasat Tor inscription. (MKS: 125)

T

Tamma-rāja: I—king of Ayutia—Of Sukhōtai (H:292) c. 1378. II—c. 1569 (H:193). III—c. 1410 of Sukhōtai.

Tribhuvana-āditya-varman: A rebel leader who rose against Yasōvarman of Angkor. AD 1166. (H:127)

Tribhuvana-Hungadēvi: Mother of Hayam Wuruk c. 1350 AD (Java) (RCM. 64)

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Tilaka: A title of Bagavati, wife of Namassivāya, a learned lady and mother of Bhūpēndrapaṇḍita mentioned in Ban That inscriptions, during the time of Jayavarman VI of Cambodia. She also had the title of Vāgdēvi. (MKS: 120)

Trailōkyanātha: Name of a deity installed by Sōmāditya in the year 886 AD , also name of a king of Thailand (1448–88), (MKS: 94).

Tribhuvana-Vajra: Name of a Buddhist lady. (MKS: 174)

Tirgūna: Author of the poem Krishnāyana during the reign of king Sāstraprabhu of Kadiri AD 1104. (RCM. 51)

U

Udayāditya Varman: I and II. I—king of Angkor 1001–1002 AD II—(1050—1066) (H:121, 122)

Udayāna: Prince of Eastern Java and father of Air Langga c. (1001–11) (RCM. 47)

Ugrasēna: king of Bali 915–42. (RCM. 82)

Utkrishtarāja: Another name of king Harivarman. king of Champa 11th Century AD (RCM. 135)

V

Vajra-bāhu: Title of king Dharmōdaya Mahāsambhu king of Mataram in Java. c. 913 AD (RCM. 45)

Vamsarāja: king of Champa c. 1150 AD (RCM. 140)

Vara Narēndra: king of Sumatra 5th Century AD (RCM. 24)

Vikrāntavarman I and II: king of Champa 7th and 8th Centuries AD (RCM. 122). II 686–731 (H:967).

Vichitra-sāgara: king of Champa at P;nduranga 7th Century AD (RCM. 122)

Vijaya: king of Java 13th Century AD (RCM. 56)

Vijaya-Śrī: king of Champa c. 999–1018.

Vijayavarman: king of Sumatra who sent an Embassy to China in 519 AD (RCM. 24)

Vikramavardana: Prince of Mataram. c. 1389. (RCM. 67)

Vīrabhadra-varman: (Śrī Vrishu Vishnu Jatti) king of Champapura 1390–1400 (RCM. 155)

Vīrachandra: Chandra dynasty of Burma, 6th Century AD (RCM. 233)

Vīralakshmi: Queen of Sūrya-varman I of Cambodia. 11th Century AD (c. 1002 AD)

Vīrarāja (also Ārya Vīraraja): Governor of Sungeneb in East Madura c. 1270 (Java) (RCM. 55–57)

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Vishṇu-varman: A Hindu prince of Malay Peninsula mentioned in a Seal inscription of 5th Century AD (RCM. 18)

Vishṇu-Vardan: king of Singosari in Indonesia. AD 1254

Vāgīsvara Paṇḍta: Son of a Brahmana by name Madava a learned Brahmin scholar installed the images of Vishnu, Trivikrama Linga and Uma mentioned in Prasat Sankakah inscription. (MKS: 140)

Vāsudēva: An ascetic (Rishi) who founded a town of Haripunjaya (Modern Lamphun) in 661 AD (RCM. 226)

Vāgdēvi: Another name of Tilaka, a learned lady. (See Tilaka)

Vāgīsvari Bhavati: A scholarly lady. See Tilaka.

Vāmasiva: Name of a Royal Guru in Cambodia. (MKS: 151)

Vap, Sadāśiva and Vap, Sankaratma: Names of persons mentioned in

Vat Phu inscription of Saka 924 AD 1002. (MKS: 204)

Vidyādhārni: Name of the Goddess installed at Sambour (Sambupura) Sambour Pillar Inscription. (MKS: 132)

Vidyāguru: Name of a teacher during the time of Jayavarman the 5th c. (MKS: 106)

Vidyā-vindu: Name of a pious Brahmin, who installed Siva in 526 AD Bayang temple inscription Cambodia. (MKS: 82)

Vidyādēva: A learned scholar who established ashrama during the reign of Īsānavarman. (MKS: 84)

Vijayēndra-varman: Governor of Bhavapura (Cambodia) (MKS: 160)

Vijayavarman: king of Champa 526 AD (H:967)

Vijayēśvara: Name of a deity in Funan. (MKS: 235)

Vīrakumāra: Prince and son of Jayavarman the VII, mentioned Prahkhan inscription. (MKS: 123)

Vīravarman: Somasarman's father-in-law mentioned in Veal Kantel inscription. Cambodia. (MKS: 83)

Vīrēndravarman: Name of General mentioned in Angkor Vat inscription mentions the foundation of a temple for Vishnu. (MKS: 106)

Vishṇukumāra: Brother of the Guru Yajñavarāha, who built the temple of Bantay-Srei. (Camḅodia) (MKS: 245)

Vīśnu Rāja: Another name of Sūryavarman II. (MKS: 229)

Visvakarma: The royal artisan of king Udayādityavarman II mentioned in Vasat temple inscription. (Cambodia) (MKS: 140)

Y

Yajña Varāha: Guru who built the temple of Bantay Srei. (Cambodia) (MKS: 245)

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Yajña Patīśvara: Another name of Hari Hara king of Khemer 7th Century. (MKS: 132)

Yasovardan (Yasō-Varman I): king of Kambūja 889–900 AD (RCM. 194)

Yōgīsvara Paṇḍta: A royal Preceptor of Sūryavarman of Angkor 924 AD (MKS: 113)

Yuvarāja-dēvi (1181–1201): Wife of king Jayavarman the VII, who became an ascetic c. 1181. (MKS: 37)

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Appendices

Texts, Translations & List of Inscriptions

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Appendix 1

Texts and Translations of Indian Inscriptions in Southeast Asia

K.V. Ramesh

1. On a stone slab built into the wall on the altar under the Buddhist image in the temple on top of the Vangthe Hill, Oc-Eo, Vietnam.

Text

[ll.1–2] *Śrī-Varddhamānadēvō varddhana-bhāvō nṛiṇāṁ kuśala-bhājām* [|] *jayati sa sakalabhuvana-patiḥ Bhairava-narttana-vibhramaḥ chalita-bhujasahasra-Varddhmān... ...*

[ll.3–5] *Himavan-Malaya-Sumēru-prabhṛiti girīndrēshu ... ... sur-āsura-munibhi... ś-śrī-Ōṅkārō yaḥ purushō hy-ātmēśvara-śūnya-kānti-nirguṇa... śrī-Varddhamāna-kathitaḥ....bhuvana-traya-param-ārthaṁ viśvaṁ lōk-ōpakāraṇam-achintyam* [|] *vividh-ātm-aika...*

[ll.6–7] *tasy-ēshṭakāsu mahatī dhavalita-giri-śikharak-ātyayau bhāgya... kṛit-āpi satī... śrī-nṛip- Ādityadēvasya puṇy-ārthāy-ēkshaṇa-kṛitā Krishṇ-a[hvē]na bhavanā... ...*

[l.8] *rajñyai śri-Varddhamānāya bhṛityānāṁ viṅśatiṁ mudā mātā tapasvinī prādāt... ...*

[ll.9–10] *Māyādhar-ārtham-atr-aiva vāsa-dvayam-idam śubhaṁ prāyachchhat-para-lōkāya dān...tapas-svāddhyāya-niratā[ta]-vrāhmaṇānāṁ hitāya cha prasannā Śrī-samāyuktā...*

[l.11] *śā[sa]n-āntaṁs-tu*[1] *yē [mō]hā[t] bhṛityān-tatra*[2] *sukalpitān* [|] *āharttu-Kāma-nibhṛitāḥ stēyānti...*

---

[1] Read *śā[sa]n-āntaṁs-tu*

[2] *mōhād-bhṛityāṁs-tatra*

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Translation

[ll.1–2](verse 1): Victorious is the illustrious god Varddhamāna, the master of all the worlds, who is inclined towards the prosperity of virtuous men, who is dynamic like the dance of Bhairava (i.e. Śiva) as who, with the thousand arms, moves... .

[ll.3–5] Among the great mountains such as the Himālayas, the Malaya, the Mēru, etc.,..... by the gods, demons and ascetics... the illustrious god called Varddhamāna, who is the very personification of *Ōṁ*, the sacred syllable, the primordial soul of the Universe, the Lord of His soul, the vacuum and the, 'light, the unqualified one... ... thé ultimate of the three worlds, the omnipresent, the supporter of life, the one who is beyond comprehension... . different spirits... one...

[ll.6–7] For the merit of the illustrious king Ādityadēva this structure has been built with bricks at the top of this great white mountain...

[l.8] For the same of the queen, the queen mother, the female ascetic, happily gave to the god Vardhamāna twenty servants.

[ll.9–10] The pleased lady, endowed with riches, gave for Māyādhara in this very place two auspicious residences... for her easy transit to the other world and for the good of the Brāhamaṇas devoted to their Vedic studies and austerity.

[l.11] Whoever takes away, out of delusion, the servants so well gifted (to the temple) will go to...

2. On a rectangular gold plate unearthed during excavations at Goxoai and now deposited in the Tan An Museum, Viet Nam.

Text

[l.1] *Yē dharmmā hētu-prabhavā tēsaṁ hetuṁ Tathāgatō=hy-avōcha* [|] *tēsaṁ (śa)ñ=cha yō nirōdha ēvaṁ vādī mahāsamaṇaḥ*[||

[l.2] *duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-samutpādō duḥkhas-sa cha atiklamō* [|] *airō aṭṭaṅgikō maggō duḥkh-ōpaśama-gāmikō* [||

[l.3] *tad-yathā ||daṇḍakē ||shaṇḍakē ||kauraṇḍ[ē] ||kēyūre ||dantile ||dantilē ||svāhā...*

[l.4] *tad-yathā [pratha]mē ||amvarē ||amvarē ||parik[ta] jñānā... pushyarāga svāhā... lakha makha . lī mī*

[l.5] *lī lī lī mī lī kīrttivara mudra mudra muchē [svāhā]* ||

Translation

[l.1] (verse 1) : Whichever obligatory actions are causative the Buddha has explained their cause the great Śramaṇa (i.e. the Buddha) has spoken thus on how to prevent them.

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[l.2] (verse 2) : Misery begets misery and that misery is conquerable. The noble eight-fold path does lead to the cessation of misery.

[l.3] It happens thus: Oblation be to daṇḍaka; oblation be to shaṇḍaka; oblation be to kauraṇḍa; oblation be to kēyūra; oblation be to dantila; oblation be to dantila.

[l.4] It happens thus:[3]

3. On a slab kept in the Ho Chi Minh City Museum, Vietnam.

Text

[l.1] *yasy-ādir-bhuvana-trayē na viditas-sarvv....* [|]

[l.2] *r-mmaddhyam-vā nidhanañ-cha lōka...ṅkāla-tray...*

[l.3] *sarvvan-tēna jitaṁ Harēṇa vibhunā nṛīṇān-tamō-ha[rtṛiṇā]*

[l.4] *śrī-Vīrēśvara-saṁjñakēna nayatā puṁstvaṁ-striyan-durllabha[ṁ]*[||1]

[l.5] *bhrātā Rudrapur-īśasya kanīyān-kula-tantu-bhṛit* [|]

[l.6] *Bhōjaḥ-pālayatē samyak-taṁ Mandarapuraṁ yadā* [|2]

[l.7] *kshētr-ārām-ānvitā sīmā sthāpitā satra-vṛiddhayē* [|]

[l.8] *gaṇitā rūpa-shaḍ-bāṇaiś-Śak-ēndrasya samās-tadā* [||][4]

Translation

[ll.1–4] Whose beginning is not known in the three worlds... Whose middle and end... world... three tenses of time... By Him, Lord Hara, who is the dispeller of darkness for human beings, everything has been conquered Being led by Him, named Virēśvara, it is impossible for masculinity to be effeminate.

[ll.5–6] While the younger brother of the Lord of Rudrapuri,-who is the link in the family and who is named Bhōja protects that city called Mandara,

[ll.7-8] When 561 years of the Śaka ruler had been counted, then the territory, endowed with enclosure and garden has been established for the growth of the alms-house.

4. On a stone pillar set up within the compound of the residence of the erstwhile prince of Champassak at Champassak, Laos.

Text

I Face

[l.1] *Vyāptaṁ mātā-sahasrair-jjagad-idam-akhilaṁ yais-tribhir-nn-aika-kālē*

[3] The readings are of a tentative nature and I am unable to provide any meaningful translation.

[4] Followed by a long text in local dialect.

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[l.2] .... *nimagnaṁ bhava-salila-nidhau nārasaṅśitvam-ēva*

[l.3] *Brahm-Ōpēndr-Ēśvarāṇaṁ...*

[l.4] *mā... . narēndraḥ kuśala-vidhim-imaṁ yaś-chakār-ātma-hetōḥ* [|]

[l.5] *ity-ath-āyaṁ śrī-Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-Pitāmah-ādi sarvva-dēva-*

[l.6] *prasād-ābhishiktaḥ pūrvv-opārjjita-vrata-kuśala-nimitta-saṁbhā-*

[l.7] *vita-sarvva-karmm-āti-mānusha-karmmā Yudhishṭhira iva sad-dharmī Bha-*

[l.8] *gīratha-narapatir-iva prajā-pālanē Dhanañjaya iva ripu-gaṇa-*

[l.9] *vijayē Indradyumna iva bhūri-yajña-vidhānē Śivir-iva... pā-*

[l.10] *lanē Bhagavan-Mahāpurusha-brahmaṇyat-anusār-iva brāhmaṇya-bhāvē*

[l.11] *Kanaka-pāṇḍya iva nyāya-rakshaṇē mah-odadhir-iva gāmbhīryyē Mērur- iva*

[l.12] *sthairyyē pūrvva-mukhēna bhagavatā śrī-Liṅgaparvvatēn-āsmin-dūra-dēśād-ā-* [l.13] *nit-ādhishṭhitō mahati rājy-aiśvaryyē viśishṭa-vispashṭ-āshṭ-ārddh-ākshara-* [l.14] *Maṅgala-nāmadhēyo dvishad-anēk-ānīk-āvāpta-vijayō Vijayaiva*

[l.15] *mahārājādhirājaś śrīmañ-chchhrī-Dēvānīkaḥ apāra-saṁsāra-sāgar-ō-*

[l.16] *ttaraṇāya sarvva-satvān-uddiśya mah-āgni-makha-purōgamaṁ s-anēka-gō-sahasra[m]*

II face

[l.17] *aśva-mēdha-sahasrasya vājapēya-śatasya cha* [|] *gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya* [l.18] *samyag-dattasya yat-phalam* |||[2] *tat-phalaṁ tu kurukshētrē kurvvanti stavan-ādi ye* [|]

[l.19] ..... *labhantē tē-tra taṁ phalam* |||[3] *ity-ēvam-ādi kuśalaṁ*

[l.20] *pūrvvair-uktaṁ sura-ṛishibhiḥ* [|] *tad-ēv-ātra Kurukshētrē labhantē bahavo ja[nāḥ* |||][4]

[l.21] *yāni tīrttha-sahasrāṇāṁ Kurukshetrē phalāni cha* [|] *atra niś-śēshata-snā[tvā]*

[l.22] *santu sannihitāni cha* |[5] *arddha-yōjanam-āyāmam-asya tīrtthasya kirtti[taṁ]* [|]

[l.23] *yo=yaṁ pradēśam-āgamya sa mahā-pāpa-pāvanaḥ*|||[6]

[l.24] *ye śarira-parityāgaṁ kurvvanti stavanañ-cha yē* [|]

[l.25] *yach-chhraddhayā cha sēvantē pivanti cha samāhitāḥ* |||[7]

[l.26] *phalam-agni-makh-ādīnāṁ dānānāṁ n-aika-saṁpadām* [|]

[l.27] *phalāni yāny-aśēshāṇi prāpyantāṁ tāni tē janāḥ* |||[8]

[l.28] *pāpīyaṁsō=pi purushāḥ muchyantē bahu-pāpataḥ* [|]

[l.29] *kiṁ punar-ddharmma-niratāḥ mahā-tīrttha-nishēvanāt* |||[9]

[l.30] *kuśala-salila dhārā-dhauta sarvv-āṅga-dēsas-sva-bhuja-bala...*

[l.31] *...chār-ūttam-āṅgaḥ* [|] *dur-adhigata-mahā-śri-Gaṅgakas-tīrttham-agryaṁ*

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[l.32] *janayati bhuvi Dēvānīka ity-āpta nāmā* |[10]

III Face

[l.33] *yē vasanti mahā-tīrtthē [Gaṅgakē tē] mṛigā narāḥ* [|]*stavanaṁ yē cha kurvvanti*

[l.34] *tat-phalaṁ prāpnuvantu tē* [||] *yadvat-puṇy-ōpama-phalaṁ Prabhās-ādi purā kṛitam* [|]

[l.35] .....*tad-ēv-ātra bhavatu... ...* ||[12] *yē dēvā yajña-bhāg-ārddha*

[l.36] .....*ntarhitā divi* [|] *Brahm-Ōpēndr-Ēśvar-ādyās-tē tan-nāma praviśantu te*||[13]

[l.37] *ity-ēvam-ādi-praṇidhi..... . .* [|].....*Kurukshētra*

[l.38] ..... *phalais-samam* ||[14] *yat-pūrvv-ābhihitaṁ svargyaṁ phalaṁ dēva-ṛshi kīrttitaṁ* [|]

[l.39] .....*Kurukshētrē bhavanti tē* ||[15] *ṛishiṇā Kuruṇā pūrvvaṁ*

[l.40] *[ē]tat-kshētraṁ kṛitaṁ satāṁ* [|] *tasmād-iti Kurukshētraṁ khyātaṁ tīrtthaṁ mahā-phalam* [11][16]

[l.41] .... *v-āpi Kurukshētrē Vāyunā samudīritāḥ* [|]

[l.42] *[api] dushkṛita-karmmāṇi nayanti paramāṅ-gatim* [11][17]

[l.43] *Kurukshētraṁ gamishyāmi Kurukshētrē vasāmy-ahaṁ* [|]

[l.44] *yē vasanti Kurukshētrē tē vasanti trivishṭapē* ||[18]

[l.45] *pṛithivyāṁ Naimishaṁ puṇyam-antarikshētu Pushkaram* [|]

[l.46] *trayāṇām-api lōkānāṁ Kurukshētraṁ viśishyatē*||[19]

[l.47] *tan-nāma kirttanēn-āpi punāty-ā-saptamaṁ kulam* [|]

[l.48] *kiṁ punar-yyē tu sēvantē manujā dharmma-buddhayaḥ*||[20]

IV Face

[ll.49–51] [Badly worn out and illegible.]

[l.52] .*śvara-jaṭā-kalāpa.....*

[l.53] *parama-pavitraṁ tīrtthaṁ.....* .

[l.54–55] .....

[l.56] *saṁvarddhanaṁ mahā-pāpa-pāvanaṁ.....*

[l.57] *kuśala-karaṇikaṁ kāryyaṁ.....*

[l.58] [Badly worn out.]

[l.59] ..... *pura... pradēśa..... ruvair-vvasudh-ēśvarai...*

[l.60] [Badly worn out]

[l.61] *sa savarṇyair-dvijais-sārddham-agnihōtraṁ hutaṁ tadā* [|]

[l.62] *tan-nām-ōddharaṇāy-aiva chakāra pṛithiviṁ nṛipaḥ* [||]

[l.63] *yan-may-ōpārjjitam puṇyaṁ yad-..... samutthitaṁ* [|]

[l.64] *mānavās-tu mahā-puṇyaṁ tīrtthaṁ niravaśēshtaḥ* [||]

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Translation

[ll.1-4] (Verse 1) [Illegible in parts. Begins by describing that this entire world is pervaded by the thousand divine mothers at all times and seems to record the constitution of the statute of welfare by the ruler for the emancipation of those caught in the cycle of life and death and for his own sake]

[ll.5-15] Introduce the king as follows: Thus then was he anointed by the pleasure of all the deities including Saṅkara, Nārāyaṇa and Pitāmaha; he did super-human deeds, all his actions being graced by the efficacy of austerities acquired earlier; he was righteous like Yudhishṭhira; in reigning over his subjects he was like the king Bhagīratha; in registering victories over the circle of enemies, he was like Arjuna; in the performance of great Vedic sacrifices, he was like Indradyumna; in the..... of..., he was like Śibi; in his friendliness towards Brāhamaṇas, it was as if he was the follower of the god Vishṇu; in upholding justice, he was like Kanaka-Pāṇḍya; in depth (of character), he was like the great ocean; in steadfastness, he was like Mount Mēru; brought hither by the east-facing god Liṅgaparvata from a distant land, he was installed in great royal splendour; he bore the name of Maṅgala, and having obtained victories over many enemy armies, he bore the name of Dēvānīka which is made up of our special clear letters and this wealthy and illustrious *mahārājādhirāja* was like Vijaya (himself).

[ll.15-16] He, in order to cross the limitless ocean of worldly life, and for the sake of all living beings, after performing the sacrifice (called) *mah-āgni-makha* and after performing many acts of *gō-sahasra* ...

[ll.17-19] (Verses 2-3) Whatever be the merit of (performing) one thousand horse-sacrifices and a hundred *Vajapēya* sacrifices and the proper gifting of a hundred thousand cows, the same merit will be earned by those who perform recitation of chantings etc. at Kurukshētra, they will acquire the same merit here. ...

[ll.19-20] (Verse 4) Thus all the very same merits which have been enumerated by the divine seers of yore will be earned by numerous people at this Kurukshētra;

[ll.21-22] (Verse 5) Whatever are the fruits of the thousand holy centres and of Kurukshētra, may all those fruits be collected by thoroughly bathing here (i.e. at this holy site);

[ll.22-23] (Verse 6) The circumference of this holy place has been declared to be half a *yōjanā*; he who comes to this territory becomes purified of great sins;

[ll.24-27] (Verses 7-8) They who abandon their mortal coils and those who chant its praise, those who propitiate with devotion and those who drink (the holy water), may they earn the merits of having performed the *agni* sacrifices, of having giving away many gifts and may they earn all merits without exception;

[ll.28-29] (Verse 9) Even men who are sinners get liberated from their many

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demerits; what then to speak of the pious ones who propitiate this great holy place?

[ll.30-32] (Verse 10) This illustrious and foremost holy place called Gaṅgaka, with its entire terrain cleansed by the flow of holy waters,...has been created on earth by one who has earned the name of Devānīka, strength of his own arm...lovely, noble limbs.

[ll.33-35] (Verses 10-12) May those animals and humans who inhabit the great holy place of Gaṅgaka and those who worship that place attain the same merit as is obtained in ancient holy centres such as Prabhāsa, etc... ... may the same be available here.

[ll.35-36] (Verse 13) Those gods who...the portion of sacrificial food...invisible in heaven... Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and others, may they enter (this holy place);

[ll.37-38] (Verse 14) Such and other prayers... Kurukshētra... equal to the merits.

[ll.38-39] (Verse 15) Whatever divine fruits have been mentioned above as enumerated by gods and seers (or by Nārada)...they are to be realised in Kurukshētra.

[ll.39-40] (Verse 16) In days of yore this holy place was established by the seer Kuru for the sake of good persons; hence this holy place, yielding great merit, came to be called Kurukshētra.

[ll.41-42] (Verse 17) ... at Kurukshētra...as indeed Vāyu has ordained... even sinful deeds lead one to great divine bliss.

[ll.43-44] I will go to Kurukshētra, I will live in Kurukshētra; those who inhabit Kurukshētra inhabit the heavens.

[ll.45-46] (Verse 19) On the earth, Naimisha is meritorious; in the middle of the three spheres Pushkara is meritorious; but among the three holy centres, Kurukshētra is extraordinary.

[ll.47-48] (Verse 19) : Even by merely chanting its name, one's family gets purified for seven generations; what then of those pious-minded humans who worship (that holy place)?

[ll.49-60] : [Very badly worn out. From the few words which could be deciphered here and there, it may be inferred that there are a few more verses in praise of the holy place]

[ll.61-62] : Along with the twice-born of the same *varṇa*, the *Agnihōtra* ritual was then performed; and the king created the [holy] territory for the emancipation of that name.

[ll.63-64] : What merit has been earned by me...raised...humans [will earn] in entirety great merit at the holy place.

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5. On a boulder at Bukit Martajam, Penang, Malaysia.

Text

prathamē vayasi n-ādhīte

Translation

Not studied in [one's] early years or youth.

6. On the pedestal of a Buddhist image in the Khao Ngu Caves, Rajaburi District, Thailand. (In 6th-7th century south Indian characters).

Text

Puñakara Ma[ṁ]ju[śrī] samādhi-gu[ṁ]phē.

Translation

The cave in which the meritorious Maṁjuśri meditated.

7. On a slab displayed in the Wat Boromothat (Private) Museum, Nakhon-Si-Tammarat, Thailand. (Eye copy).

Text

||*Tamarāya* |*Tjōgēsvaraḥ* ||

Translation

[The god?] Tjōgēśvara [of ?] Tamarāya.

8. On a slab in the Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

....*vaishṇavaś-śū[ro]... Bhārat*[5]... [|] *Rāma-Kēśavayōr-yadvad Rāma-Lakshmaṇayōr-iva* [||]

[5] It is interesting to note the name Bhārat[a] here; perhaps it is a reference to Bhārata [-varsha], i.e. India. In the Risthal inscription of the 6th century AD, we get one of the earliest epigraphical references to Bhārata-varsha.

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Translation

...the brave devotee of Vishṇu...between Rāma and Kēśava was like that between Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.

9. On another slab in the Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

Sūrapura-krānty-arthaṁ sthitavān-asmiñ-jalāśayam-imaṁ yaḥ Śiva liṅg-ārchchana-karaṇāt-khanati sm-aikēna divasēna [||] *rakshā-śakti-tyāgaiḥ paura-kshōṇindra-yāchak-ādīnām*[|] *sukh-ābhaya-tushṭiṁś-chakrē sa śrī-Jayasiṁhavarmm-ākhyaḥ* [||2]

Translation

He who had encamped (hither) for the sake of seizing Sūrapura, got this water reservoir excavated in one single day for performing ablutions to the Sivaliṅgā that illustrious one named Jayasiṁhavarmmā, generated pleasure, fear and happiness in (the minds of) the citizens, enemy kings and supplicants, by his (acts of) protection, power and sacrifice.

10. On a slab in the National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

... tāsva ... ... bhuktayē... y....

... ... ha chaṅkram-āśana-gṛihaṁ s-ōpōshadh-āgārakam bhaktaṁ sāṅghika-paudgalaṁ prati-dinam..... . .

... ramit-ārchchanaṁ saha mashī-patr-ārppaṇaṁ lēkhanam ijy- Āgasti-mahātmanō dvija-gaṇasy-ānna[ñ-cha]....

... ganā-rahitā sa-dharmma-kathanā dhūpa-pradīp-ānvitā mālādāma-vitāna-chāmaravatī Chīn-ām[v]a...

.... ṇyañch-ānyad-api pradishṭam- aniśaṁ dharmmaḥ praja- pālanam ishṭ-ānishṭa-samatvam-indriya-jayaḥ khēdas... . ṛi.....

..... paryyāptaṁ Gōgēna ya....Arnnāya-nāmā g....

Translation

..... walking space, eating house, medicine shed, individual connected with the saṅgha... everyday... . . the worship of... . pāramitā, along with ink and leaves, writing... . food for the group of Brāhamaṇas of the great soul, the respectable Agasti...along with propogation of the Truth (*dharma*), and offering of incense and lamps, and garland, fly-whisk, chinese silk... whatever

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else is ever indicated, the Truth, ruling over the people, same attitude towards good and bad, control of the senses, sorrow...accomplished by Gōga...named Arnnāya...

11. On a slab in the National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

yaś-śri-Mahēndravarmm̤-ēti
Mahēndra iva viśrutaḥ [|]
sa Śaṅkara-taḍā-k-ākhya-
ñchakhān-ēmañ-jalāśayam [||]

Translation

He, who was named Mahēndravarmmā and was as renowned as Mahēndra (i.e., the great Indra, the Lord of the gods), got excavated this water reservoir called Śaṅkara-taḍāka.

12-16. On stones in the S.M. Badrudeen Museum, Palembang, Sumatra Island, Indonesia. (All in 7th-8th century characters). Worn out mostly; but seems to be the same text on all stones.

Text

Jaya-siddha-yātrā sarvva... kh-ārttham [|]

Translation

This successful voyage is for the welfare and happiness of all living beings.

17-18. On two gold plates in the possession of the Department of Archaeology, Jambi, Jambi Province, Sumatra, Indonesia.

(1) *Jē dharmmā hētu-prabhavā hētu.....hy-avadat yēva[ṁ]vādī māhāśravaṇa*

'Thōse obligatory duties which are causative,... . reason... indeed stated thus spoke the great śramaṇa (i.e. the Buddha)'.

(2) *...tō-hyavadat tēsha[ṁ] cha...jēva[ṁ] vā . mā...*

'... [the tathāga]ta (i.e. the Buddha) indeed spoke their..... . thus spake...'

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19. On a slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

[l.1] *Śri-Mūlavarmmā rājēndra[s*]-samantā[j*]- jitya pārtthivā[n]* [|]
[l.2] *karadān-nṛipatīṁś-chakrē yathā rājā Yudhishṭhiraḥ* [||1]
[l.3] *chatvāriṁśat-sahasrāṇi sa dadau Vapprakēśvarē* [|]
[l.4] *yō vaṅś-ā . k[ṛi]taṁ triṁśat-sahasrāṇi punar-dadau* [||2]
[l.5] *...jīva-dānaṁ prithag-vidhaṁ* [|]
[l.6] *ākāśa-dīpaṁ dharmm-ātmā pārtthivēndra[s*]-svakē purē* [||3]
[l.7] *ētēshāṁ gō-sahasrā[nāṁ]... . . mahātma..* [|]
[l.8] *yūpo=yaṁ sthapitaṁ viprair-nnānā-gōtrair-in-āga[taiḥ]* [||4]

Translation

[ll.1-2] (Verse 1) The illustrious lord of kings, Mūlavarmmā, having vanquished kings everywhere has forced them to pay tributes as king Yudhishṭhira had done

[ll.3-4] (Verse 2) He gave at (the temple) of Vaprakēśvara forty thousand (gold coins); he again gave thirty thousand (gold coins) which had come down in his family.

[ll.5-6] (Verse 3) That pious soul of a king gave..... various kinds of life-sustaining cattle, pillar with lamp(s) in his own town.

[ll.7-8] (Verse 4) Of these (gifts of) thousand kine..... the great soul... this column has been set up by Brāhamaṇas belonging to various *gōtras* who had come hither...

20. On a second slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

Jayaty-ati-ba[la].....
śrīmān-śrī-Mūlavarmma-nṛi....
yasya likhitāni..... dānāny-asmin mahā-ti(tī) [rtthē].....
jala-dhēnuṅ-ghṛita-dhē.....
kapilā-aikādāśa-ma.....
vṛishabh-aikādāśa-ma....
dattā viprēshu rājēndra...

Translation

Victorious is the super-powerful... wealthy, illustrious king Mūlavarmmā... whose recorded... gifts in this great holy place... pregnant cows, cows for

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realising ghee... . tawny cows and, so also, sesamum...eleven bulls... given among Brāhamaṇas, Oh! lord of kings...

21. On a third slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

[l.1] *Śrīmad-virāja-kīrttēḥ*
[l.2] *rājñaḥ śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇaḥ puṇyam* [|]
[l.3] *śṛiṅvantu vipra-mukhyāḥ*
[l.4] *yē chānyē sādhavaḥ purushāḥ* [||]
[l.5] *bahu-dāna-jīva-dānam*
[l.6] *sa-kalpa-vṛikshaṁ sa-bhūmi-dānañ-cha* [|]
[l.7] *tēshām-puṇya-gaṇānām*
[l.8] *yūpōyaṁ sthāpitō vipraiḥ* [||2]

Translation

[ll.1-4] (Verse 1) May the chief Brāhamaṇas and those other righteous men listen to the merit of the illustrious, wealthy, brilliantly famous king Mūlavarman;

[ll.5-8] (Verse 2) Many (are his) gifts, gifts of livelihood, along with bountiful gifts and gifts of land; and this column, a symbol of the collective merit (of all those gifts) has been erected by the Brāhamaṇas.

22. On a fourth slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

Śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇā rājñā
yad-dattan-tila-parvvatam [|]
sa-dīpa-mālayā sārddham
yūpōyaṁ likhitas-tayōḥ [||]

Translation

This column has been written for those gifts of a mountain of sesamum, along with the pillar of lamps, made by the illustrious king Mūlavarmman.

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23. On a fifth slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

[l.1] *Srīmataḥ śrī-narēndrasya*
[l.2] *Kuṇḍuṅgasya mahātmanaḥ* [|]
[l.3] *putrō=śvavarmmā vikhyātaḥ*
[l.4] *vaṅśa-karttā yath-Āṅśumān* [||1]
[l.5] *tasya putrā mahātmānaḥ*
[l.6] *trayas-traya iv-āgnayaḥ* [|]
[l.7] *tēshān-trayāṇām-pravaraḥ*
[l.8] *tapō-bala-dam-ānvitaḥ* [||2]
[l.9] *śrī-Mulavarmmā rājēndrō*
[l.10] *yashṭvā bahu-suvarṇṇakam* [|]
[l.11] *tasya yajñasya yūpō=yam*
[l.12] *dvijēndrais-samprakalpitaḥ* [||3]

Translation

[ll.1-4] (Verse 1) : Famous was Āśvavarmā, the founder of a (royal) family, like the Sun (or the Moon), who was the son of the great man, the wealthy and illustrious king, Kuṇḍuṅga;

[ll.5-12] (Verses 2-3) : His sons, all great men, were three, much like the three Fires; of the three the most excellent [or, more likely, the eldest] was the illustrious lord of kings, Mūlavarmmā, endowed with religious austerity, strength and self control; he having performed the Vedic ritual called *bahusuvarṇaka*, this column, commemorative of that Vedic sacrifice, has been created by the noble Brāhamaṇas.

24. On a sixth slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta Indonesia.

Text

Śrīmatō nṛipa-mukhyasya .
rājñaḥ śrī-Mulavarmmaṇah [|]
dānaṁ puṇyatamē kshētrē
yad-dattaṁ Vaprakēśvarē [||1]
dvi-jātibhyo=gni-kalpēbhyaḥ
viṅśatiṅ-gō-sahasrikam [|]
tasya puṇyasya yūpō=yam
kṛitō viprair-ih-āgataiḥ [||2]

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Translation

What gift had been given by the wealthy chief of kings, the illustrious king Mūlavarman, in the most sacred place, Vaprakēśvara, to the Brāhamaṇas, who were pure as fire, namely a score of thousand kine, this column has been created by the Brāhamaṇas who had come here, to register that merit.

25. On a seventh slab in the Jakarta National Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Text

[l.1] *[Sa]garasya yaṣṭhā rājñaḥ*
[l.2] *samutpannō Bhagīrathaḥ* [|]
[l.3] *tath-āyam-aparō.....* [||]
[l.4] *śrī-Mūlavarmmā nṛipatir-....*
[ll.5-10] [Badly worn out and illegible].
[l.11] *yūpō=yaṁ*

Translation

[ll.1-4] Just as Bhagīratha appeared on the scene in the case of Sagara,[6] so also this other... The illustrious king Mūlavarmmā...

26-28. Estampages displayed in the National Museum, Nakhon Si Tammarat, Thailand. Findspot: Ban Khlong Thon, Nakhon Si Tammarat Province, Thailand.

Text and Translation

[1] *śrī-Vidyādhikārasya*
'Of the illustrious Vidyādhikāra'.
[2] *namō=stu tasmai patayē vanānāṁ*
namō=stu tasmai patayē surāṇām [|]
prayōjan-ārtthaṁ vanam-āgatās-tē
dātavyam=ity-atra bhavadbhir-ēbhyaḥ [||]
'Salutation to the Lord of the forests, salutation to the Lord of the gods, they have come to the forest seeking benefit, that must be given to them by (all of) you'.
[3] *yēshan-nilaya-dēśēshu*

[6] The legendary hero Bhagīratha is credited with the achievement of bringing down the Ganges from the heaves and immersing the mortal remains of the sons of sagara in that holy water thereby ensuring the salvation of their tormented souls.

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tishṭha[nti] manujā . varāḥ [|]
yadi teshāṁ prasādāch-cha
kāryya[s]-tēshām bhavishyati [||]

'In whose settled habitations noble men reside, if by their grace, their work will be done'.

29. On a slab in the Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

yē..... . . tēsaṁ hētuṁ Tathāgatō āha [|]
tē..... vaṁ vādi mahāsamaṇo...

Translation

...which...the Buddha enumerated their cause...thus spake the great Śramaṇa (i.e. the Buddha).

30. On a slab in the National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.

Text

Face I

[l.1] *Ōm*[|] *Visāriṇyā Kīrttyā naya-vinaya-śauryya-śruta-sama-kshamā-*
[l.2] *dhairyya-tyāga-dyuti-mati-day-āday-akshaya-bhuvā* [|] *paraṁ yasy-ā-*
[l.3] *krāntā bhuvana-kubhujāṁ kīrtti-visarā mayūkhās-tārāṇāṁ śaradi*
[l.4] *tuhin-āṅśair-iva ruchā ||Guṇānām-ādhāras-tuhina-giri-*
[l.5] *kūṭ-ādhika-ruchā guṇ-āḍhyānāṁ puṁsām-api jagati yas-tuṅga-*
[l.6] *yaśaśṁ maṇīnāṁ bhūriṇān-duritabhid-uda nvān-iva mahā-*
[l.7] *n maṇi-jyōtirllēkhā-valayi-śiraśāñ-ch-āpi phaṇinām ||*
[l.8] *Dhana-vikalatā-vahni-jvāl-āvali-kshapit-āśayā yam-a-*
[l.9] *bhipatitā yē tē svāstyaṁ paraṁ samupāgatāḥ hradam-i-*
[l.10] *va gajā nityā śōshyaṁ prasanna-śubh-āmbhasaṁ savitari ta-*
[l.11] *paty-ugrē sēvyaṁ sarōja-rajō=ruṇam ||Guṇa-bhritaṁ-[u]pa-*
[l.12] *gamya yaṁ guṇ-āḍhyā manujā narā Manunā samaṁ samantāt*
[l.13] *Madhu-samayam-iv-āmra-kēsar-ādyās-śriyam-adhikan-dadhatē ma-*
[l.14] *hīruhēndrāḥ ||Jayaty-ayaṁ śrīvijayēndra-rājā*
[l.15] *sāmanta-rāj-ārchchita-śāsana-śrīḥ* [|] *prasanna-dharma-sthirat-ōnmukhēna*
[l.16] *vinirmmitō viśva-sṛijēna yatnāt ||Śrīvijayabhūpati-*
[l.17] *r-ēsha guṇ-aughaḥ kshititala-sarvva-sāmanta-nṛip-ottama-lōttama-lokaḥ*

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[l.18] *sthāpitaṁ aishṭika-gēha-vara-trayam-ētat Kaṁjakara-Māra-ni-*

[l.19] *shūdana-Vajri-nivāsam Santatam-ētat-tri-samaya-chaitya-nikēta*

[l.20] *n-dāsa-dig-avasthita-sarvva-jin-ōttama-dattam sarvva-jaga[nma]la-bhū-*

[l.21] *hara-kuliśa-varan-tri-bhava-vibhūti-viśēshadam-amara-padam* ||

[l.22] *Punar-api Jayanta-nāmā rāja-sthavirō nṛipēṇa suniyuktaḥ stū-*

[l.23] *pa-trayam-api kurvv-ity-atas-sa tad-idan-tathā kṛitavān* ||*Svaritē-*

[l.24] *smiṁs-tach-chhishyō Vimuktir-abhūch-cha namatō (tas sthaviraḥ ishṭaka-chai-*

[l.25] *tya-dvitayaṁ chaitya-tritay-āntikē kṛitavān* ||*Vṛiddhy-ā-*

[l.26] *ptē Śāka-rājē muni-nava-rasakair-Mmādhav-aikādaś-āhē śuklē kau-*

[l.27] *līra-lagnē Bhṛigu-suta-sahitē ch-āryyamañjyotir-āryyē* [||] *Dēvē-*

[l.28] *ndr-ābhēna cha Śrīvijaya-nṛipatin-ānya- kshitīś-ōttamēna trai-*

[l.29] *lōky-aikāgrya-chintā-maṇi-vapusha iva sthāpitas-stūpa...* ||

Face II

[l.30] *Svasti yōsau Rājādhirājas-sakala ripu-gaṇa-dhvānta-sūryyōpa-*

[l.31] *m-aikas-sv-ōjōbhiḥ-kānta-lakshmyā śarad-amala-śasī-Manmath-ābhōvapu-*

[l.32] *shmān* [|] *Vishṇv-ākhyō-śēsha-sarvv-āri-mada-vithanas-cha dvitayas-sva-saktyā sō-*

[l.33] *yam Śailēndra-vaṅśa-prabha-nigaditaḥ śrī-Mahāraja-nāmā* [||] *tasya cha sakala-rā* [Stops here.].

Translation

[ll.1–4] By his well-spread out fame and inexhaustible wealth of polity, humility, valour, sacred lore, forbearance, patience, courage, sacrifice, majesty, intellect, kindness, etc., the spread of the fame of the other rulers of this earth has been overrun just as the splendors of the autumnal moon outshine the rays of the stars;

[ll.4–7] He is the repository of good qualities, more resplendant than the peak of the Himalayas and is the sustainer, in this world, of renowned men of noble qualities just as the ocean is the repository of heaps of precious stones and is also the abode of the serpents whose heads are illumined by the shining precious stones (on their hoods);

[ll.8–11] Just as elephants, parched by the hot sun, take recourse to a perennial non-drying lake with pleasant, clear water, those men who, suffering from burning poverty, seek his asylum attain great prosperity;

[ll.11–14] By approaching him who is equal to Manu and who is endowed with good qualities, the virtuous enjoy greater prosperity, even like the great trees such as mango and citron become more fruitful all around during the spring season;

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[ll.14–16] Victorious is the king Śrivijayēndra whose prosperous reign is propitiated by all kings, with the expectation of steadying righteousness the creator had created him with painstaking effort;

[ll.16–19] This king Śrīvijayēsvara is full of good qualities and has, as his subjects, all the best rulers of this earth, this abode of Padamapāṇi (Kaṁjakara), Buddha (Māranishūdana) and Vajrin, consisting of three excellent brick shrines, was constructed.

[ll.19–21] This everlasting three-shrine *chaitya* abode is the gift of all the best Buddhists (*jinōttamāḥ*) staying in the ten quarters, and is verily the excellent thunderbolt for destroying all the worldly impurities and is the bestower of three-fold prosperity and is a heavenly abode.

[ll.22–23] Again, the royal *sthavira*, Jayanta by name, instructed so by the king, caused three *stūpa*s to be constructed.

[ll.23–25] He having gone to heaven, his disciple, the *sthavira* named Vimukti, got constructed, near the *chaitya* triad, a twin *chaitya* of bricks.

[ll.25–29] In the growing year of the Śaka king, in the year 796 (to be read from right to left), in the month of Mādhava (=Vaiśākha), on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight, when the zodiac sign was Cancer and the star was Uttarā-phālgunī,[7] this jewel of a *stūpa* was established, as if it is the foremost wish-fulfilling gem of all the three worlds, by the king Śrīvijaya who is of the same lustre as Dēvēndra and who is the best among rulers.

[ll.30-33] Be it well. He who is the king of kings, who, having put down all the enemy kings, is the lone compeer of the sun, and whose body, by its personal lustres and by attracting the goodness of wealth, is like the autumnal moon and the god of love, called Vishṇu, is the destroyer of the arrogance of all his enemies, and is the one who is spoken of as the glory of the Sailēndra dynasty and bears the name Mahārāja.

31–34. On artefacts in the collection of Phra Kru Athon Sangkarakit Museum, Khum Luk Pat, Khlong Thom District, Krabi Province, Thailand.

Texts and Translations

(1) A small oblong stone (In third century AD Tamil Brahmi characters).

perumpataṉ kal
'The stone belonging to the Great (or Senior) Goldsmith'.

(2) A seal[8]

Achalasēnasya
'[The seal] of Achalasēna'

[7] The details correspond to April 20, 775 A.D. and the week day was Wednesday.
[8] Nos. 2–4 are in the 7th century southern Indian characters.

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(3) Another seal

dātavyaṁ
'to be given/to be paid'

(4) A third seal

Bahmaṇandisa
'[The seal] of Bahmaṇandi'

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Appendix 2

Texts of Select Inscriptions of the Trade Guilds[1]

Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam

[01]

Aihole, Hungund Tk, Bijapur Dt. Lad Khan temple, East wall, outside. *IA*, vol. VIII, (1879), p. 287 (no. LIX-1). c. AD 800.

(1) *svasti āryya samuday ōditavar āryya purādhiṣṭānadā śrī mahā cāturvidya samudayam ainūrvvarkaṁ beṇṇamma-sōmayājigaḷa koṭṭa dānam anna prāśanakkaṁ pū savaṇakkaṁ chaulakkaṁ dharanaṁ upanayannakkaṁ samāvarttanakkaṁ gadyaṇaṁ maduvegaṁ ādhānakkaṁ paśudhigam eraḍu gadyaṇaṁ cāturmāsyakke mūṟu gadhyaṇam agnishṭōmakke ceydu gadyaṇaṁ acaḷiyam ippavargge koṭṭudu*

(2) *svasti ārya jana samudhay ōditavar āryyapurādhishṭhānadā śrī mahā cāturvidya samūdāyam ainūrvvara nityada dī...la...pari pavidi...sapegī āṟumauḷavu... dhishāpā...*

Summary

A grant of fees on the occasion of life-cycle ceremonies made by Beṇṇamma Sōmayāji to the Five hundred, who constituted the great body of Chaturvēdīs of the excellent capital of Āryapura which arose from a collection of worthy people.[2]

[1] In each inscription the header lines give the particulars of the inscription as follows: village where the inscription is found, followed by taluk and district and the actual location; reference to the publication; date of the inscription. In the text, the omitted passages are shown by '—', and the missing passages by dots. Below the text either an English summary or transaltion of the inscription is given wherever necessary.

[2] Dr K.V. Ramesh reads the text slightly differently and interprets that the gift was made by the Five hundred Chaturvēdis to Beṇṇamma Sōmayāji. K.V. Ramesh, 'Inscriptions of the Merchant Guilds of Karnataka' (mimeo).

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[02]

Aihole, Hunugund Tk, Bijapur Dt. On a beam in Gaudara gudi temple.
SII, XV, 463. c. AD 800.

śvasti śrīmadhāryyāpuradā śrī mahā caturvidya samudayamaynūṟuṁ mahāganamuṁ eṇṭun nagaramuṁ nūṟu irppadinvaru ūrāḷigaḷu inittaṟu śrīdhūrttaghaṭēdyuta maṇḍalamellaṁ nī [vaḻṭṭaṁān durggā bhagavatiyarkke ittāradakke [va]krabarppō ||

Summary

Some gift[3] to the deity Durgābhagavati by the Five-hundred *mahājanas*, well versed in the four Vēdas, the Eight *nagaras* and the Hundred-and-twenty *ūrāḷis* of Āryapura.

[03]

Munisandai, Tirumayam Tk, Pudukkottai Dt. On a stone on the bank of the local tank.
IPS, 61. Chola king Parakesari, AD 927(?).

svastiśrī kōpparakēcaripaṉmarkku yāṇṭu 20 ivāṇṭu kāṉa nāṭṭu muniyantai ...cai āyiraṉañnūṟṟuvar pērāl ...aiñnūṟṟuva pēr ērikku uri vayam ...nu vaḷañciyar aiñnūṟṟuvar vaitta kācu 2 iraḍu itiṉ palicai āṭṭu nā... śrī.

[04]

Kamudi, Ramnad Dt. On the right face of an elephant-shaped stone set up in front of the Vaḷiviṭṭaiyanār temple.
ARE, 1974-75, 96. c.10th cent. AD.

[ll.1-4] *svasti śrī samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcaśata vīraśāsana lakshaṇa lakshita lakshmi vakshastala [alaṅgṛita] śrī vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūlabhadhra urbhava śrī vīra paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya pati*

[ll.5-11] *ṉeṭṭup paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷā puramum aṟupattu nālu kaḍikait tāvaḷattu ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭi puttira rum kavaṟaiyum kāmuṇṭasvāmiyum cīriya toḻil [vāriya]ṉum [āriyama] payiṉṟa āvaṇakkāṟaṉum [vēntaṉum] [ṟilaraiyā pammuva?]ci vīraṉum koṭṭai*

[ll.12-21] *yu muḷḷiṭṭa vīrar vala muṭṭa nāṭṭu mārvattu mālaiyum muṉivar ciṅkamu m ...ciṭalai ... taṅkum raṇakitti [vāviyum] kaṅka maṇṭalattu puṉa*

[3] Dr K.V. Ramesh suggests (by personal communication) that the gift could be some cess (*vaṭṭam*) on all the gambling collections. The corresponding change in the text was also suggested by him.

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ṉāṭu ... . ṅko .. [i] Lañciṅkamum ... ya cikā ..... Lañciṅkamum mūṉṟu taram .. kavaṟai iḷañciṅkamum aṭikkīṭṭaḷat tāṟaṅ koṭik kavaṟai iḷañciṅkamum mā ṉāvaraṇīśvarattuk kavaṟai viṭaṅkaṉum nāṉ karai nāṭṭu [ci]ttiravāḷiyum ...
...[Continuation lost].

[05]

Beḍkīhāḷ, Chikkodi Tk, Belgaum Dt. On copper plates.
KI, IV, 55, pp. 118-26. Chalukya king Irivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya, AD 1000(?).

svasti samasta bhuvāśraya prithvīvallabha mahārārājādhirājaṁ rājaparamēśrvaram parma bhaṭṭārakaṁ cāḷukyābharaṇam tailanripakuḷatiḷakaṁ śrīmatrsatyāśrayadēvar prithvīrājyaṁgeyyuttamire sakavarisha 931 sārbbari saṁvatsadoḷ

svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyātam pañcasata vīraśāsana labdhānēka guṇagaṇāḷaṁkita sattya saucācāra cārita nayavinaya sampannarappa srī vīrabaḷaṁjada dharmmapratipāḷana visuddha guḍḍadhvaja virājitamappa lakshmī vaksasthaḷam sarāḷiṅgita bhuvanaparākkramam vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadhrōdbhavam bhagavatī varaprasādam

dvātrimsa vēḷāvuḷa ashṭādasa paṭṭaṇam causashṭi yōgapīṭham aṟuvattanālku ghaṭikasthānaṁ nānā dēsa bhramaṁta vidagdha siddhāgama vākusiddharum bhalluṁki daṇḍa hastar aiyavoḷeya pura paramēśvarar

kalaha saṁpuṁnar ācāragaligaḷ toḍare balugaṁḍar peṇake kaḍugūrppar kritaugaṁ trete dvāparaṁ kaliyugaṁ nālku yugadoḷaṁ brahmā vishṇu mahēśvarara matame pasuṁbeyāgeyu ashṭalōkapāḷakar goṁṭageyu eṁṭuṁ deseya dēvategaḷe goḷasāgeyu vāsugeye baḷasāgeyuṁ phaṇikuḷame dāramāgeyuṁ bokkaṇame uḷavasuṁbeyāgeyuṁ khaṭvāṁgame kōlāge caṁdrādittyarkkaḷaṇasāgeyuṁ cakkrame bēḷamāgeyuṁ vajrakavacame kaṁcuḷikeyāgeyuṁ dvāvatiyabhaṁḍame tāyi bhaṁḍamāgeyuṁ aisaṁbarama amaulyavasugaḷāgeyuṁ

naḍedum nuḍiduṁ saṁda srīmateṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvarum ādiyāge aynūrbaru svāmigaḷge sāshṭāṁgameṟagi poḍavaṭṭu

maga rēvaṇa mūḍaṇa baṭṭeyoḷ maḷanāgaseṭṭiya koṁda page saṁṇanākaneṁba bēḍananiṟemade mahānāviyāge paṁneradu bīḍugaḷam neredalli nāciyara beṁbiseṭṭiya bīḍinoḷ nāḍaṁ nerasi eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvaru mādiyāge Srīmatainūrbbaru svāmigaḷe

sāshṭāṁgameṟagi poḍavaṭṭu savinayadiṁ kāryyamaṁ biṁnapaṁgeydu matamaṁ bārikanumaṁ paḍedavana paḷḷige paridu nēsarmmūḍuvāgaḷ saṁṇnākanoḷugāgi ērvvaruma nālvaru kiṟumakkaḷmaneraḍu toṭṭila kūsugaḷmanaṁtu padimūvarumāṁ koṁdu saṁṇanākana nettaraṁ kuḍidu kayyaṁ kaḍidukoṁḍu barpparaṁnega baḷiyanekoṁ baṁdu kaikoṁḍavana

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paḷiyaṁ suṟegoṁḍavana jīvadhanaṁgaḷaṁ pāḍuvarggaṁ būtugaḷgaṁ koṭṭa

nāciyara beṁbiseṭṭiyuṁ rūḍhiyaṁmaseṭṭiyuṁ vēluvula malliseṭṭiyuṁ beḷgoḍeya mallapaseṭṭiyuṁ noḷaṁbavāḍiya koṁḍevāriseṭṭiyuṁ eḍadoṟenāḍa bhīkanaṁbaraviya pēṁṭheya eṟeyaṁmaseṭṭiyu āyipaseṭṭiy bōdananāḍa bhayilaya seṭṭiyu goṇḍiseṭṭiyu mahiseyanāḍa etaḷada ayaṇayya seṭṭiyuṁ caṭṭaya seṭṭiyuṁ matupālōṭada maramalladaṁtappa ubhaya kalaseṭṭaru billanāriya koṁkaṁbilu tirdumaṁteṭṭunāḍa padinaṟuvarum ādiyāgi

ainūrbba svāmigaḷuṁ seṭṭimuttaruṁ gāvuṇḍasāmiyuṁ bīranum aṁkakāṟanumi[rdu] bārikanuṁ

rēvaṇage pageya beṁkoḷvaneṁba pesarumaniḍe daṇḍamilla pēṟidaḍe suṁkamilleṁba sāsanamumam baredu koṭṭu vittiya tējamudre.

Summary

It records the fact that a certain Revaṇa killed in all thirteen persons consisting of seven men, four children (kirumakkal) and two babies in the cradle. The seven men, killed by Revana included Samṁanaka of the Beḍa caste who had murdered Maḷanagaseṭṭi on the eastern road (Mūḍaṇabaṭṭe). Revaṇa felt it a pleasure to put an end to Saṁṇanaka and took an oath in the presence of the representatives of the 12 bīḍus that had assembled in the place (*bīḍu*) of Nāchiyara Beṁbiseṭṭi and the 16 of the Eight Nāḍus (countries or principalities) and the Five Hundred of Ayyavoḷe that he would kill Saṁṇanaka. He fulfilled this oath by drinking the blood of Saṁṇanaka at the instance of the Five Hundred Swamis. The Five Hundred Swamis, Seṭṭimuttas (for Seṭṭiguttas), the headman etc., conferred upon Revaṇa, the title "*pageya benkoḷva*" i.e., chaser of the enemies. He was made free from taxes if he brought any articles from outside. The following merchants participated in conferring the title as well as the privilege on Revaṇa:- Beṁbiseṭṭi of Nachiya, Ammaseṭṭi of Rūḍhi, Malliseṭṭi of Veḷuvala, Mallapaseṭṭi of Beḷgoḍe, Koṇḍevariseṭṭi of Eḍadorenaḍu, Ereyammaseṭṭi and Ayipaseṭṭi of Bhīkanaṁbaraviya peṁṭhe, Bhayilaseṭṭi and Goṇḍiseṭṭi of Bondana naḍu, Ayaṇayyaseṭṭi and Chaṭṭayaseṭṭi of Etaḷa included in Mahise-naḍu, etc.

[06]

Tiruvidaimarudur, Kumbakonam Tk, Thanjavur Dt. Mahalingaswami temple, central shrine, south wall.
SII, XIX, 4. Chola king Parakesarivarman, AD 1014(?).

svasti śrī kōpparakēcaripanmaṟku yāṇṭu 2 avatu tiruviṭaimarutil śrīmūlasthānattil perumāṉ aṭikaḷ kōvilil periya maṇṭapattil muṉ pil tiruppalakaṇiyum tirukkatavum nilaiyum paṭiyum

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kaikkōḷap perumpaṭai yōmiṉāl camaippittu eṅgaḷ āccamār tikai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar tam pēr cāttiṉamaiyil

inta dharmmam-tikai āyirattu aññūṟṟuvar rakshai. inta dharmmattiṉai rakshittār śrī pātam eṅgaḷ sirattiṉa.

[07]

Basinikonda, Madanapalle Tk, Chittoor, Dt.
ARE, 1912, 342. Chola king Rajadhiraja I, AD 1050.

[ll.1–19] *tiṅgaḷērpeṟa vaṅgatik ka ṭavuṭ tolkulam viḷaṅga tōṉṟi malkiya vaṭaticaik kaṅgaiyun teṉṟicai ilaṅgaiyuṅ kuṭaticai mahōtaiyuṅ kuṇaticaik kaṭāramun taṇṭārk koṇṭa tātai taṉ maṇṭalam veṇkuṭai niḻaṟkiḻakkaṉ kuṭai niḻaṟṟit ticai toṟuñ ceṅgōlōcci icaikeḻu teṉṉavaṉ māṉāparaṇaṉ poṉmuṭiyānap parumaṇip pacuntalai pōnta kaḷattarintu vēṇāṭṭaraicaic cēṇāṭṭotukkik kūvakattaraicaic cēvakantulaittu vēlai keḻu kāntaḷūrccālai kala maṟut...keḻa jayaṅgoṇṭacōḻaneṉṉum tikeḻa kōvirājakēsariparmmarāṉa uṭaiyār śrī rājādhirājadēvaṟku yāṇṭu muppattiraṇṭāvatu*

[ll.20–41] *jayaṅgoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalattu puraṇa mārāyapāṭi mukaināṭṭu ciṟuvaḷḷiyil niranta nāṭum nakaramum nāṉatēciyum naṭaikuṭi cāttun tokku niranta rājādhirājap peruniravi eṇṭicai nāṉku ticaiyāyirattu ayññūṟṟuvap peru [niravi] samaiyamum iccamaiyattu tiruvaṭikkup paṇiceyyum eri vīrarum muṉai vīrarum iḷañciṅga vīrarum koṅgavāḷarum paṉmaiyum palaniyāyattārum valaṅgai [tariyārum?] poruñciṟava... ḷiluṅgaivar ciṉaiperṟuṭaimaiyālum ciṟuvaḷḷiyai nāṉātēciya dasamaṭi [eṟi]-vīrappaṭṭṇameṉṟu vīrasāsanañ ceytu ivarkaḷukku nāṅgaḷ...rāṭivvūriṟ koḷḷātatākavum ipparicu vīrasāsanañ ceytu koṭuttōm patiṉeṇvishaiyattup peruñ camaiyam paṇikka.*

Summary

First king's eulogy and reign is mentioned. Then follows the details regarding the conversion of the village Siṟuvaḷḷi into an *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* by a big merchant assembly (*samayam*) called *aññūṟṟuva-peruniravi* comprising the *nāḍu*, *nagara*, and *nānādēsi* along with several warrior groups serving the *samayam*(*samaiyattu tiruvaḍikku paṇicheyyum*). Some privileges seem to have given to this town (not clear due to damage to that part of the inscription).

[08]

Samuttirāpaṭṭi, Nattam Tk, Madurai (Dindukkal) Dt. On a standing stone slab (Now at TN Mahal Museum, Madurai).
Aavanam, 2, pp. 6-8. Chola-pandya king Vikrama, AD 1050.

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[I face]

[ll.1-7] *svasti śrī vikkirama cōḻapāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 26 āvatu samasta bhuvaṉāsṟaya pañcasata śāsaṉa laksaṇē lakshmī vakshastala puvaṉa parākrama śrī vāsudēva kaṇṭaḻi mūlapattirōṟpava śrī ayyapoḻilpura paramēcuvarikku makkaḷāki śrī paḻa patṭ;ārakikkut tuṇaivarāki*

[ll.7-21] *patiṉeṭṭuppaṭṭaṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷāpuramum [aṟupa]ttunāṉku kaṭikait tāvaḷamum tāvaḷattiruntu samaiyattaṉmai iṉitu naṭaṭirukkiṉṟa ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭiputtiraṉum kavaṟaiyum kāttarivaṉum kāmuṇṭa suvāmiyum koṟṟakkuṭai panmai muṉṉūṟṟuvarum koṅgavāḷḷeḻunūṟum aṅgakāṟaṉum āvaṇakkāṟaṉum ulakaṉum uḻpacumpaik [kāṟanum] ci toḻil vāriyanum ceṇṭuvatu uḷḷiṭam vāṭṭiṉa tuṭṭaperuki aṟam vaḷarak kalimeliya ticai aṉaittum ceviṭupaṭāmal ceṅgōlēy muṉṉāka samaiyataṉmai iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa*

[ll.21-33] *nāṉkuticaip patiṉeṇpūmi nāṉātēcit ticaiyāyirattainnūṟṟuvarum paṉiyā nāṭṭut ticaiyāyirattaiñūṟṟuvarum nam makkaḷ nāṭṭuc ceṭṭikaḻum ticai-ceṭṭikaḻum nam makkaḷ patiṉeṇpūmi paṇicey makkaḻum upaiyammāy iruntu*

[II face]

rājarājap pāṇṭināṭṭu rājēntira cōḻavaḷanāṭṭu paṉiyānāṭṭu...añṉūṟṟuvaṉ puḷikīḻkūṭi... aḻakiya pāṇṭiyap peruniravi ticaiyāyiratttaiñnūṟṟuvarō nammai vakaiceta paṇiyāvatu

[ll.33-43] *vaḷañciya pakaimarai oṟukka kalināyanāṉa parakēcari mūvēntavēḷāṉai tirumayattiṟ paṭa veṟṟaṟintu pōnta... ...nāṭṭu· ceṭṭikaḻaiyum paṇica makkaḷai tuṭarnta vaḷañcey pakaiyarai keṭaveṟintu kāttuk kaṭattirumaiyālum vaḷañcey pakayarai cāliya āṇṭāṉaiyum kaikkōḷarāṇṭāṉaiyum tuvāṉai ayyaṉaiyum kāṭṭuviccamaiyālum ivaṉukku palamuṟaimaiyilnāl palaṇi cemaiyilum makkaḷai etirēṉṟu koṇṭu cōrupākku iṭṭu antarapukumailk kāttu kiṭattiṉamaiyālum*

[ll.44-55] *aḻakkiya pāṇṭiya peruniravikku paṇiyuṟṟu niṉṟa paṇice makkaḷḷē nāṭṭu ceṭṭikaḻum paniyā nāṭṭai nāṉātēci eṟivīrapaṭṭaṇam cetu kuṭutta paricāvatu paṇinta vīrapāvāṭai mēnaṭaimun atiranaṭamēy kaṇṭu cōṟu oru nāḷḷaikku kuṭuppatākavum iraṇṭ;ēṟṟamuṭaiyanāy...kācum uṭaiyanāy peṟuvatākavum ōrēṟṟamuṭaiyā...kācum uṭal aṭuttu vanta paṇica makanṟukku mēnaṭai iraṇṭu kācum mokka orunāḷḷai cōṟu kuṭuppatākavum kālnaṭai...kācum uṭal...vittu paṇica makaṉukku mēnaṭai oru kācu kuṭuppatākavum mek kaṇṭu cōṟum ippaṭi ceytu kuṭuttoṃ*

[III face]

[ll.56-95] *pāṇṭiyakulapati-nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyarum antari cūṟṟiyāṉa vīrakkuṭi kotukula cema ceṭiyārum muṉaivaṉ tirukkumaraṉ tē ci aṭaikkalattu tēcakaṇṭa nāṭṭu*

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ceṭṭikaḷum. jayaṅgo ṇṭa cōḻapurattil veṇṇi valla tirumalāṉa nānātēciy taḷa ceṭiyum tirumalaṉātaṉ ā ṉa arammaṭi aññūṟṟuvarum

[IV face]

...ttiranu ...vāraṇavāci āṇṭāṉum virakaṉ āṇṭāṉum tiruvā li maṇikkirāmattāṉ koṅgavāḷaiyaṉuṃ cāṇi cūṟṟi āṉa nānā tēci āṇṭāṉum āppi tēvaṉāna ayyapoḻilānṭ;āṟu maturān taka aṟaṅgāṭiyayanu caturacikiḻ iva nṇ;acetu paniyā nāṭṭai vīrata ḷañ ceytu kuṭuttōm ivaṉai vōm

[ll.95-106] *ivaṇṇañ cetu vīrataḷattu muṟaimaiyilaḻiya viruntāl nāṉ paṉṟiyil olonṟāvatākavum nāy piṇam maṟavaṟka aṟamalla tu ṇaiyillai ivai eṟivīra paṭai ācariyaṉ eḻuttu.*

Summary

The big assembly called *aḻagiya-pāṇḍiya-peruniravi* which comprised the Five Hundred of several quarters, and those of the town called Paniyānāḍu and their 'sons' (*nammakkaḷ*) the *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s and other servants (*paṇichai-makkaḷ*) decided to make the town as *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* in honour of a warrior who saved several of the fellow warriors after fighthing and killing the enemies of the *vaḷañjiya*s. It is actually the decision of the *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s and the *paṇichai-makkaḷ* and these latter also decide to enhance the fees and the cloth-money that the hero was getting in the town.

[09]

Hirahadagalli, Hadagalli Tk, Bellary.Dt.
SII, IX, 118. AD 1057.

[ll.1–52] [First genealogy of the Chalukya king Trailōkyamalladēva. In his reign in Śaka 978 a Brahmin called Dēmarasa built a temple for Dēmēśvara and granted land to the temple through to the *mahājana*s of Posavaḍangile. Then the Ayyāvoḷe-500 made gift of an oil-mill, etc. Other gifts made in AD 1107 and later by others are mentioned subsequently.]

[ll.52–56] *svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta pañcaśata vīraśāsanalabdhānēka guṇagaṇāḷaṁkṛita satya śaucācāra cārucāritra naya vijñāna vīra-baḷaṁja dharmma pratipāḷana viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja virājamājamānūna sāhasa lakshmī samāliṁgita viśāla vakshasthaḷarum*

sāhasadiṁ kārttikēyanaṁ śauryyadiṁ vainatēyanaṁ śaucadiṁ gāṁgēyanaṁ satyadim rādhēyanaṁ dānadiṁ varasurabhūjamaṁ caladiṁ kururājanaṁ dharmmadiṁ yudhishthiranaṁ dhairyyadim mēruvaṁ gāṁbhiryyadiṁ ratnākaramaṁ kshameyiṁ dharitriyaṁ śaraṇāgatarddgge vajrapaṁjaramam

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pōḷtu vāsudēva khaṁḍalī mūḷabhadra vaṁśōdbhavarum bhagavatī-dēvi labdha varaprasādarum enisida

dvātriṁśad vēḷa[vura]mum ashṭādaśa paṭṭaṇamuṁ causashṭi.gaidi... gavaṟegaruṁ gātrigaruṁ vēḷakāṟaruṁ bīraruṁ bīra-vaṇigaruṁ gāvuṁḍaruṁ gāvuṁḍa-svāmmigaḷum ayyāvoḷepura paramēśvararumappa śrīmad aynūrvvara vikyāti yenteṁdaḍe naḍedude vijitōjvala ... kravartigadēṁ bhujabaḷa ... satataṁ kalibaḷḷi ... ... [ll.57–61] roppuvaṁ dharitriyoḷu ... antenisid-aynūrvvaruṁ śrīmunūṟerppadiṁbarumirddu ... ... lekhade pāga beḷeya ... vīsamumam biṭṭaru

adara paḍuva bare ... nāḍiṁge keḷeyaṁ biṭṭaru ... baṁdu puguva ... voṁdu baḷḷamaṁ biṭṭaru naṁdādīvigege vondu gāṇada māneṇṇeyaṁ biṭṭaru telligar-ayvattokkaluṁ soṁṭege yeṇṇayaṁ biṭṭaru nakara ... luttamaṁ biṭṭaru śrīmatu nūrippadiṁbaru dēvarge baidinivēdya ... yokkalum pullavaḍugar-okkaluṁ kalukuṭigarokkaluṁ sarvvamānyamāgi biṭṭaru

[ll.61–63] *svasti śrimaccāḷukyavikrama varshada 31neya sarvvajit samvat-sarada caitradamāvāsya sōmavāra sūryyagrahaṇa vishusaṁkramaṇadandu śrīmattribhuvanamalladēvara maneverggaḍe mahāpradhāna nanan-tapāḷayyanaḷiya vaḍḍarāvuḷada suṁkadadhikāri daṇḍanāyakaṁ mācidēva śrīdēmēśvaradēvaraṁgabhōgakke mūru lakshada ... vaḍḍarāvuḷada suṁkavaṁ koṭṭaru*

[ll.63–90] [Some other gifts by others].

[10]

Vembatti, Bhavani Tk, Coimbatore Dt.(now at Kalaimagal School Museum, Erode).
ARE, 1977, 213. AD 1074(?).

[I face]

[ll.1–7] *svasti śrī kōvirācakēcari paṉmarākiya srī rājēntira cōḻa tēvarkkut tiru veḻuttiṭṭuc cellā niṉṟa yāṇṭu nālāvatu caiyamuri nāṭāḻvār nāṭṭu vaṭakarai vikram palavapurattu nakarattu vaḷañcikikarkku vīrapaṭṭaṇam ceytu kuṭuttōm*

[ll.7–16] *nāṭāḻvārai veṭṭiṉa matirai irukkum pirāntaka tēvaṉ nāṉa koṅgumaṇṭalam uyakkoṇṭāṉum muciṟiyāṉa mumuṭiccōḻapurattil cun-tiracōḻa muttaraiyaṉai veṭṭiṉa piḷaik kaṇṭaḻiyum toṇṭaināṭṭil cūrallūr iruntu [āḷuṟava]ṉai veṭṭiṉa eṟiyum viṭaṅka ceṭṭiyum pāṇṭi nāṭṭil kallaka nāṭṭi kākkaiyāṉa tuḷa kōtai cōḷaiyāṉa paṭaināyakaṉai veṭṭiṉa vīrakaḷ-matalaiyum*

[ll.17–27] *paruttip paḷḷi niranta rājēntira cōḻap peruṉi[ravi] vīra māṇikkac ceṭṭiyum cēntaṉ tirukkura[vāḷ] nāṉātēciyk kavaṟai viṭaṅkañ cāttaṉ pālaiyāṉa tikaiyāyirattaññūṟṟuvap piḷḷai kaṇṭaḻiyum araiyam māyilaṭ*

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[II face]

ṭiyāṉa vīrakaḷ-matalaiyum ciṅkamūranāṉa aññūṟṟuva vēḷāṉum añcukarai nāṭṭuk kavaṟai viṭaṅkaṉum kavaṟaikaḷ mārvattumālaiyum vīrakaḷ mārvattumālaiyum

[ll.28–35] *vīraputtiranum muṉivar ciṅkamum valaṅkai mārvattumālaiyuṅ kavaṟaikaḷ uyyakkoṇṭānum piḷḷaic cittiravāḷiyum maṭikaik kaṇṭaḷiyārum vāṭāppūvum teṇṭikkāṟacakkaramu muttaḷai ka[ṭu]ttiṉac cittira vāḷiyum piḷḷaip pattiriravaṉum eṟiyum viṭaṅka ceṭṭiyum*

[ll.36–39] *ivvūrp [pakutiyu] ivvūr mādēvarkku kuṭutta tarmamum ivvūr vīracācaṉam cetōmmum ivvaṉaivōmmum uḷḷiṭṭa vīra-peruṉṉiraviyārōm*

[40–46] *ittaṉmmam iṟakkiṉāṉ keṅkayiṭai kumariyiṭai eḻunūṟṟuk kāvatat tuḷḷār ceva ceta pāvam koḷvār nōkkoṇṭā[rel]... [ṉaivōm] purivatākavum ipparice ... vīrapaṭṭaṇam cetōm ivvaṉaivōm muḷḷiṭṭa vīra peruṉṉiraviyōm aṟamaṟavaṟka tuṇaiyillam.*

[11]

Barus, Sumatra, Indonesia. (Now at the Museum Nasional, Jakarta).
Avanam, 4, pp. 118–19. Saka 1010. AD 1088.

[ll.1–11] *svasti śrī cakaraiāṇḍu āyirattu[p pa]ttuc cellāni[ṉ]ṟa mācit tiṅgaḷ vārōcāna mātaṅkari vallavat tēci uyyak koṇḍa paṭṭinattu vēḷāpurattu kūḍi niranta tē[cit ticai]viḷaṅgu ticai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvarō*

[ll.12–17] *m nammakanār nakara sēnāpati nāṭṭuceṭṭiyārkkum patineṇbūmi tēci apparkku mā[vē]ttukaḷukkum nā vaittuk*

[ll.17-24] *kuṭutta paricāvatu marak[ka] la... ...la marakkala nāyanuṅ kēvikaḷum kastū[ri] vilaimu[tala]kappa[ṭa] añcu tuṇ[ṭā]yam poṉṉum ku[ṭu]ttup pāvāṭai ēṟakkaṭavatākavum ippaṭikku [i]kkal eḻuti nāṭṭikkuṭuttōm*

[ll.24–26] *patineṇpūmi tēcit ticai viḷaṅku ticaiāyirattainnūṟṟuvarōm aṟamaṟaveṟka aṟamēy tuṇai.*

Translation

(ll.1–4) In the Śaka year 1010 current, month Māsi,

(ll.5–11) We, the Five Hundred of the thousand directions, known in all countries and directions, having met at Vēḷāpuram in Vārōchu *alias* Mātaṅkari-vallava-tēchi-uyyakkoṇṭa-paṭṭinam

(ll.12-17) decided to grant as follows to 'our son(s)' Nakara-sēnāpati Nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār, Patineṇ-bhūmi-tēchi-appar and the *māvettus*:

(ll.18-22) [Each of] the ship's ..., the ship's Captain and the *kēvi*s shall pay the

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fee *añchu-tuṇṭ-āyam* in gold according to the price of the *kastūri* and [then only] shall step on the cloth-spread.

(ll.23-26) Thus we the Five Hundred of the thousand directions known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands got this stone written and planted. Do not forget charity; charity alone is the good companion.

[12.1 Visakhapatnam, Visakhapatnam Tk, Visakhapatnam Dt. On a stone lying near Pravastu Rangacharya's house. (Now in local museum). *SII*, X, 651. Eastern Ganga king Anantavarman. AD 1090.

svasti śrīmad anaṁtavarmmadēvara pravarddhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsaraṁbulu [17] nēṁṭi sakavarushaṁbu 101[2] nēṁṭi kanya krishṇa 10 sōmavāramu nāṁḍu

śrīmatu viśākhapaṭṭaṇamaina kulōttuṁgacōḍa paṭṭaṇamuna nagaramu panniddaṟunu māttōṭṭamāna [rā]makulavalli paṭṭaṇamuna aṁjjuvaṇṇatu vyāpāri pattanāditya nānārāja vidyādhara samaṁkattughaṁṭṭi āsā[vā]na padinenmidibhūmi nagarasēnāpati ayina malamaṁḍala mātāmanaku niccina śāsanapatramu

viśākhapaṭṭaṇamaina kulōttuṁggacōḍapaṭṭaṇamuna anyū[ṭu]vaperuṁbaḍiki tūrpuna sīmasaṁddhi ṟāprākāruvu dakshiṇa sīmasaṁddhi dēvāṇḍiyillu mēra paścima saṁddhi uppuṭēṟu uttara sīmasaṁddhi ummaṟummi velakuṁgoni viḍicina yillu

lōpugānull anyūṭṭuva [peruṁpallini] ācaṁdrārkkamu niccitimi palli[ki] lōpaina illaku aruvanamu kānki viḍumbaḍlu vīni pariharimcitimi

dīniki vighnamu sēsinavāru gaṁgga kaṟla vēyu gavilala brāhaṁaṇula vadhiṁcina pātakamuṁ boṁddduduru. svadattām paradattām vāyō harēti vasuṁddharāṁ shashṭiṁ varsha sahasrāṇi vishṭāyām jāyatē krimiḥ.

Summary

This and the two subsequent inscriptions are closely related ones[4] and refer to the tax concessions given to a *paḷḷi* (Mosque) called Anyūṭṭava-[pe]ruṁballi (in Telugu) by the reigning Eastern Ganga king and a chief, perhaps at the request of the Twelve members of the *nagaram* of Kulōttuṅgachōḻa-paṭṭaṇam, another name of Viśāka-paṭṭaṇam. The recipients of the grant were two merchants of the *añjuvaṇṇam* guild.

[12.2]

[4] For a discussion on the date and importance of these inscriptions, see Y. Subbarayalu, 'Añjuvaṇṇam, a Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times', *Kaveri: Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History (Professor Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume)*, ed. S. Rajagopal, Panpattu Veliyiittakam, Chennai, 2001, pp. 144–52.

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Visakhapatnam, Visakhapatnam Tk, Visakhapatnam Dt. On the back of the stone containing the previous inscription.
SII, XXVI, 103. Saka [1012], AD 1090.

[ll.1–6]*svasti śrīmat śaka varusham āyirattorunūṟṟiraṇṭāvatu puraṭṭāti māsattu daśamiyun tiṅkaṭ kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa pūcattu nāḷ śrīmat viśākapaṭṭaṇamāṉa kolōttuṅkacōḻa-paṭṭaṇattu nakarattiṟ paṉṉiruvarum*

[ll.7–12] *mātōṭamāṉa irāmakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu añcuvaṇattu viyāpari pattaṉātittaṉāṉa rājavi...ja...ttu būntiyar sāvāṉapati...saṉāpatiyā ṉa maḷaimaṇṭala...kkukkuṭutta śāsaṉattiṉ paṭikku*

[ll.12-17] *viśākapaṭṭaṇattu aññūṟṟuvar...kiḻakkellai matiḷ teṟke...maṉai mēṟkellai vaṭapā...pparum... koṇṭu viṭṭa...nilattukkup poruḷaṟa...tukkiṟai*

[ll.18-24] *yeccō...varai celvatāka eḻuti...tāruṇṭākiṟ a...pacuvum brāhmaṇa...pāvattile pōkak kaṭavatā...yō hareta va... vishṭāyām.*

[12.3]

Visakhapatnam, Visakhapatnam Tk, Visakhapatnam Dt. On a slab built into the entrance to the Jagga Rao observatory.
Kulōtunga Prithvīśvara. Saka 1012(?). AD 1090.

svasti śrī śakavarushaṁbulu [1012]gu mārggaśira suddha daśamiyu guruvāramu nāṁḍu śrīman mahāmaṁḍalēśvara kulōttuṁga prithvīśvara mahārājula pāśayil aṁjuvannamuna vyāpāri bōyarāṁḍiballa koḍku sāvanāṁḍiballayaina māvaṁggiri-vallabha samayacakravartti kiccina śāsanamu

viśākhapaṭṭaṇamuna anyūṭṭavavaruṁ-[pe]ruṁballikiṁ tūrppuna sīma ...prākāruvu mēra dakshiṇasīma dēvāṁḍi illu mēra paścimasīma saṁddhi uppuṭēṟu mēra uttarasīma saṁddhi ummaṟummi velakuṁgoni viḍicina illu

lōpunu [anyūṭavaruṁ peruṁpalliki] nācaṁdrākkamugā niccitimi palli lōpuna iṁṭṭaku naruvanamu gāniki viḍumbaḍi vīnim bariharimccitimi

dīniki vighnamu siṁtticcināru gaṁgakaṟuta veyigeyila brāhamaṇula vadhiṁcināru svadattāṁ paradattām vāyō harēti vasuṁdharāṁ shashṭiṁ varusha sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ jāyatē krimi.

[13]

Hanamanhal, Ron Tk, Dharwar Dt.
SII, IX, 148. AD 1099.

svasti samasta bhuvanāśraya śrī pṛithvīvallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ satyāśrayakuḷatiḷakaṁ

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cāḷukyābharaṇam śrīmatṛibhuvanmalladēvaru kalyāṇapurada nelevīḍinoḷu sukhasaṁkhadhāvinōdadiṁ rājyaṁgeyyuttumiralu

svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁcasata birasasana-labdhānēka guṇagaṇāḷaṁkṛita satyasaucācāra cāritra nayavinayavinyāna vīrabaṇaṁja samaya dharmma pratipāḷana visuddhaguḍḍadhvaja virājitānūna vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadrōdbhavaruṁ

samasta bhalluṁki-daṇḍa-hastar ayyāvoḷepura paramēsvarācāra-kaligaḷappa śrī madaynūrvva svāmigaḷuṁ ashṭādasa-paṭṭaṇamuṁ dvātriṁsa vēḷāpuramuṁ aṟuvattanālku ghaṭikasthānmuṁ cavushashṭi-yōgapīṭhamuṁ eṁṭunāḍa padinaṟuvaruṁ gavaṟeyuṁ gātrigaruṁ bīraruṁ bīra-vaṇigaruṁ taṁbuliga-sāsirvarum iḻdu

svasti śrīmaccāḷukyavikrama kāḷada 24neya prmādi saṁvatsarada paushya suddha 10mi uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti ādityavāradaṁdu

maleyar siṁgiseṭṭiyuṁ kētiseṭṭivuṁ rēcayagētiseṭṭivuṁ gallade kaleya bāciseṭṭi bādāviya balidēvaseṭṭiyuṁ hāvariya hicciseṭṭi tiḷivaḷḷiya kaliyammaseṭṭi tiḷivaḷḷiya mottakāṟa siriyammaseṭṭi kaliya kētiseṭṭi keṟuvūra eḍava caṭṭiseṭṭi siggāveya bharatiseṭṭi niṭṭasiṁgiya babbuḷa siriseṭṭi tucciṁgeṟeya holliseṭṭi huḷḷamana sōviseṭṭi gājanūra āriyapadmalaseṭṭi gājanūra nāgulaseṭṭi cavuṇḍayyaseṭṭi yintinibaruṁ taṁbuliga sāsirvvaruṁ gavaṟeyuṁ gātrigaruṁ ashēsa seṭṭiyarumiḻdu

kisukāḍappattaṟa baḷiya bāḍada āluṁgeṟeya siṁgagāvuṁṇḍam taṁbuliga sāsirvvarthaṁ nikkisi taṁdeḍe sāsirvvarumiḻdu toṟaharu koṇḍaḍā yartthaṁ siṁgagāvuṁṇḍaṁgemiḻdu

siṁgagāvuṁṇḍaṁge mecci koṭṭa sāsanameṁ...ḍeleya gātrakke sāsireleyardda gātrakkaynūṟele pa... dayavattele yintī sāsana maryyādeye tappade ... suvaru i śāsanamaryādeya nāya norvvanaḷida ... ḍavaṁ vāraṇāsi gurukshētra gaṁgānadī tīradoḷu grahaṇa saṁkrāntiyo ... [Imprecation follows].

[14]

Kattur, Ponneri Tk, Chengalpattu Dt. Vīṟṟiruntaperumāḷ temple.
ARE, 1912, 256. c. AD 1100.

svasti śrī svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta pañcasata vīraśāsan...dhyālēka guṇagaṇālamkṛita satya saucāritra śīla nayana viññāna samasta sambhūnā vaḷañcika danmapurapāla haviśuddha gandarvva vāsudēva kaṇḍaḻi vīrabhatrōtbhava parama bhashṭāri makkaḷāki

nāṉkuticaiyāyiramum patiṉeṭṭup paṭṭiṉamum muppattiṟaṇṭu vēḷāpuramum aṟupattunāṉku kaṭikāstāvaḷattuc ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭiputranuṁ kavaṟaiyuṁ kātrivaṉuṁ kaṇṭaḻiyum bhatrakaṉum kāmuṇṭasvāmiyuñ ciṁkamuñ ciṟupuliyum valattukkaiyum vāriynumuḷḷiṭṭākat tirumayilārppil niranta nāṉādēcip peruni-

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raviyōm ayyapuḻalākiya kāṭṭūrai vīrapaṭṭiṉamākki ivvīrapaṭṭiṉattukku vaitta paricāvatu

iṭuvatiṭātatākavum peṟuvatiraṭṭi peṟuvatākavum nammakkaḷip paṭṭiṉam pukkuc cārikaiyeṉṟum paṇameṉṟum cuṭṭi vāḷmuṟiccāṉum vāṭaṅkiṭantāṉum vīṭupukkuc corai paṟiccāṉum nontu koṇṭāṉukkum ivvīrapaṭṭiṉattiṉ mēlēṟātatākavum iṉṉaṭaiyaḻippāṉ vaḷañciyattukkup puṟakaṉumāy otirkkaiyanāvatākavum ipparicēy sarvaparisālamāka vaittōm tirumayilārppil niranta nāṉādēcipperuniraviyōm

samaiyam vaitta paricālamēy vaittōm vīra peruniraviyōm paṭṭiṉaṅkaḷ ceyyu naṭai ceyyappeṟuvatākavum samayamāyum vīrarkaḷāyum i naṭaiyaḻittāṉ keṅkaiyiṭaik kumariyiṭaic ceytāṉ ceyta pāvattiṟ paṭuvāṉ itdhanmam rakshippāṉ śrīpātam śirasiṉ mēliṉa.

Summary

The big assembly called *nānādēsi-peruniravi* comprising the *cheṭṭi*, *cheṭṭi-putran*, *kavaṟai*, *kātrivan*, *kaṇḍaḻi*, *bhadrakan*, *kāmuṇḍasvāmi*, *siṅgam*, *chiṟupuli*, *valattukkai*, and *vāriyan* which met at Mayilārppil decided to convert the town Ayyappuḻal *alias* Kāṭṭūr into a *vīra-paṭṭinam* and permitted some privileges to the soldiers of the place. The *nammakkaḷ* ('our sons') from outside were warned not to enter the town and demand any fees and tolls and not threaten the inhabitants using force. Both the *samaiyam*, otherwise called *nānādēsi-peruniravi* and *vīra-peruniravi*, i.e. the soldiers, agreed to the decision.

[15]

Singalantapuram, Musiri Tk, Tiruchirappalli Dt. On a planted stone slab called *santikkal* in the village.
ARE, 1943–44, 237. c. AD 1100.

... ... sāsapaksha vakshastala vairāṇa.m devajaiyamalavatrō...ayyappoḻil paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya ..... talaivarāki aṟam vaḷara kali meliya pukaḻ perukat ticai aṉaiyttum ceviṭupaṭāmal ceṅkōlē teyvam ākavum samaya dhanmaminiti naṭāttukiṉṟa ciṅkaḷāntaka puramāna eṟiyum eṟivīrataḷattu valaṅkai [uya]kkoṇṭārkaḷ patineṇvishaiya koṭiyuyar nōkki ceyta ciṟap[pā]vaṉa vaiy[kunta] nāṭāḻvarai [iruṅkō]ḷarum kūlic cēvakarum kūṭi vaḷaittuk koṇṭatu uyyakkoṇṭākaḷ puṟappaṭa...

k ko... mva pakka nāṟum cāyntum... vamaypittu vaykunta nāṭāḻvāṉayp piḻaiyppittaṉameṉṉum tēcippaṇicai makaṉ tēci āparaṇappiḷḷaiyai makatai nāṭāḻvār kūliccēvakanāyccetanati maṭṭakāṭu nāṭāḻvāṉaik kuttuviccuk koṇṭamaiyālum cantirāṉ cavakam vaḻi iparṟakka veṭṭuvar vaḻiyilē purucu

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vīrakaḷ talaiyai vaiyyipittuk koṭupōka uyyakkoṇṭārukku puṟappaṭa cetutu muruve

peru...vittu ko.va...m patiṉeṇpūmi vīrakoṭikaḷ mūṉṟu maṇṭalattu aṇukkar iḷavīṟarai mali cētirāyar ciṭakamum kaṇavati vīravu ...palla mān tēci āyaṇap piḷḷaiyum tēcikkōn nāraik kōṉṉun kiṭācāva uṭaleṭutta nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḷ ārumuṉaikaṇṭa nāṭṭucceṭṭiyu nimattuvarām nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyārum tiruvaṇukka apa [nāṭṭu]cceṭṭiyum

ttēca a...ṭapukkala nāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyu[m] uṭaleṭutta patiṉeṇpūmi vīrakoṭiyōmum camaiyamā virakaḷ taḷattu uyyakkoṇṭārkaḷukku kō kāttum pa..m amaittum rakshai.

Summary

The 18-*būmi-vīṟakoḍi*s decide to honour some group of warriors, called *valaṅgai-uyyakkoṇḍārgaḷ* of Siṅgaḷāntaka-puram which was an *eṟivīra-taḷam* in appreciation of the latter's heroic feats against their enemies.

[16]

Kolhapur, Kolhapur Tk, Kolhapur Dt.
EI, XIX, 4A. Saka 1058, AD 1136.

[ll.1–5] *śrīmat parama gambhīrasyādvād āmōgha lāṁccanaṁ jīyāttraiḷōkya nāthasya śāsanaṁ jina śāsanaṁ svasti samadhigata pañca mahā śabda mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṁ tagara puravarādhīśvaraṁ śrī śiḷāhāra narēṁdraṁ jīmūtavāhanānvaya prasūtaṁ suvarṇṇa garuḍa dhvajam maṟe vokka sarppaṁ ayyana siṁgaṁ ripu maṇḍaḷika bhairavaṁ vidvishṭa gaja kaṇṭhīravaṁ iḍuvar ādityaṁ rūpa nārāyaṇaṁ kaliyuga vikramādityaṁ śanivāra siddhi giri durggā laṁghanaṁ śrī mahālakshmī dēvi labdha vara prasād ādi samasta rājāvaḷī virājitarappa śrīman mahā maṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ gaṇḍarādityadēvaru vaḷavāḍada nelevīḍinal sukha saṁkathā vinōdadiṁ rājyam geyyuttam ire*

[ll.5–11] *tat pāda padmaōpajīvi samadhigata pañca mahāśabda mahāsāmantaṁ vijaya lakshmī kāntaṁ ripu sāmanta sīmantinī sīmanta bhaṁgaṁ vīra vārāṁganā priya bhujaṁgam vairi sāmanta mēgha vighaṭana samīraṇaṁ nāgaladēviya gandhavāraṇaṁ vidvishṭa sāmanta viḷaya kāḷaṁ sāmanta gaṇḍa gōpāḷaṁ dāyāda sāmanta tārasura vīra kumāraṁ sāmanta kēdāraṁ toṇḍa sāmanta puṇḍarīka shaṇḍa pracaṇḍa mada vēdaṇḍaṁ gaṇḍarādityadēva daksha dakshiṇa bhuja daṇḍaṁ yācaka jana manōbhilashita cintāmaṇi sāmanta śirōmaṇi jina caraṇa sarasiruha madhukaraṁ samyaktva ratnākaran āhārābhya bhaishaijya śāstra dāna vinō...daṁ padmāvatī dēvi labdha vara prasādaṁ nām āḍi samasta praśasti sahitaṁ śrīman mahāsāmantaṁ niṁbadēvarasaru kavaḍegoḷḷada baḷiya santeya mudgoḍeyal māḍisida basadiya*

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pārśvanātha dēvarashṭavidharccanakkam ā basadiya jīrṇṇōddārakkam all ippa rishiyar āhara dānakkaṁ

[ll.11–13] *svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁca sata vīra śāsana labdhānēka guṇa gaṇaḷaṁkṛita satya śauc ācāra cāru caritra naya vinaya vijñāna vīra baḷaṁja dharmma pratipāḷana viśuddha guḍḍadhvaja virājamānanūna sāhasottuṁga kīrttyaṁganāliṁgita nija bhujōpārjita vijaya lakshmī nivāsa vakshassthaḷaruṁ bhuvana parākram ōnnata vāsudēva khaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadra vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ bhagavatī labdha vara prasādaruṁ*

[ll.13–19] *tāvu kādi sōladaruṁ maṟu vakka mārigaḷuṁ para strī paradhana varjjitarum catush shashṭi kaḷegaḷoḷ pravīṇar appudaṟiṁ brahman annaruṁ cakram uḷḷudaṟiṁ nārāyaṇan annaruṁ dṛishṭiyoḷ nāḍi kolvudaṟim kāḷāgni rudran annaruṁ kondaran aṟasi kolvudaṟiṁ paraśurāman annaruṁ tulidu kolvodaṟiṁ madāndha gandha sindhuradannaruṁ giriurggamaṁ maṟe vokkaraṁ tegedu kolveḍeyoḷ siṁhad annaruṁ pātālamaṁ pokkaraṁ kolveḍeyoḷ vāsugiy annaruṁ*

ākāśadoḷ irddaraṁ kolveḍeyoḷ garutman annaruṁ peṁpinal pṛithviy annaruṁ biṇpinal kula giriy annaruṁ guṇpinal mahā samudrad annaruṁ udyōgadal rāman annaruṁ parākramadoḷ pārtthan annaruṁ śaucadoḷ gāṁgēyan annaruṁ sāhasadoḷ bhīman annaruṁ dharmmadal dharmma putran annaruṁ jñānadal sahadēvan annaruṁ bhōgadal iṁdran annaruṁ tyāgadal karṇṇan annaruṁ tējadal ādityan annaruṁ ahicchatram enisuv ayyavoḷepura paramēśvararum appa

[ll.19–24] *aynūrvvar svāmigaḷuṁ gavaṟeyaruṁ gātriyaruṁ seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ gāmaṇḍaruṁ gāmaṇḍa svāmigaḷuṁ bīraruṁ bi(bī)ra vaṇigaruṁ*

kollāpurada bilpāṇa seṭṭiyuṁ gōvinda seṭṭiyuṁ komara aṇṇamayyanuṁ miriṁjeya bijja seṭṭiyuṁ boppi seṭṭiyuṁ gaṇḍarādityadēvara rāja śrēshṭi vesapayya seṭṭiyaruṁ ā maṇḍaḷēśvarana bīḍina bammi seṭṭiyuṁ kuṁḍi paṭṭaṇad āditya gṛihada sāsanigaṁ heggaḍe rāva seṭṭiyuṁ kūṁḍi caudore boppi seṭṭiyuṁ toraṁbageya prabhu kannapayya seṭṭiyuṁ mayisigeya kājagaṟaṁ caudhore goravi seṭṭiyuṁ baḷeyavaṭṭaṇaḍa śānti seṭṭiyuṁ ayyavoḷey aynūrvvarasiṁgaṁ hāliya seṭṭiyuṁ kavaḍegoḷḷada prabhu khapparayyan ādhiyāgi samasta dēśam neredu

[ll.24–33] *śaka varshada sāsirad ayvatteṁṭeneya rākshasa saṁvatsarada kārttika bahuḷa paṁcami sōmavāradaṇdu śrī mūlasaṁgha dēsiya gaṇa pustaka gacchada kollāpurada śrī rūpa narāyaṇa basadiy ācāryyar appa śrī śrutakīrtti traividya dēvara kālaṁ karcci dhārā pūrvvakam āgi koṭṭ āyam entendoḍe*

aḍakke hēṟimge ayvattu javaḷakk irupattu hasarak aydu ele hēṟimge nūṟu tale voṟeg ayvattu hasarak irppattaydu tuppam eṇṇey eṁb ivu koḍakke sollage siddigeg ara vānaṁ saṁgaḍig ormmānaṁ dūsiga vasarakkam akkasālegaṁ hoṁge haṇaṁ hatti maḷaveg ayvalaṁ bhaṇḍiya kaṟuseya maḷaveg eraḍu bīsige javaḷakke palaṁ pattu laṁkar okkalalli aṟu tiṁgaḷge maṇetivige maraviy eṁb iv

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ond akkum varashakke maṁcav ond akkuṁ allav arisinaṁ śuṇṭhi beḷḷ uḷḷi baje bhadrmustey eṁb ivu modal āgi tūgi māṟuva bhaṇḍaṁgaḷge hēṟiṁg ay valaṁ javaḷakk ip palaṁ hasarak op palaṁ jīrage meḷasu sasaviy eṁb ivu hēṟiṁg om mānaṁ javaḷakkaravanam hasarakke sollage uppu modal āgi haḍineṁṭu dhanyaṁ gaḷgaṁ bhaṁḍige koḷagav oṁdu hēṟimge mānav eraḍu tale voṟeg ormmānaṁ bāḍu kāy eṁb ivu haṁḍige hattu tale voṟege nālkakkuṁ bhaṇḍige daṇḍige voṁdu sevey aydu hūṭey eraḍarkkaṁ daṇḍige voṁḍu sevey eraḍu heḍaligege māle vondu kuṁbaṟaralli hasarakke maḍake vondu

[ll.33] *intiy āyaman aḷidātāṁte bāṇarāśi kurukshētr ādigaḷol pañca mahā pātakamaṁ māḍida phaḷam akuṁ*

Translation[5]

[Invocation to Jinas]

(Lines 1–5) Praise of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityadēva.

(ll.5–11) For the eightfold worship of the divine Pārśvanātha of the temple constructed in the mudgoḍe of the market-place in Kavaḍegoḷḷa by one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the Mahāsāmanta Nimbadēvarasa, who has all the titles of *hon*our such as —. and for the restoration of outworn (parts) of the said temple, and for the supply of food to the holy men dwelling there:-

(ll.11-24) hail! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Baḷañja religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the device) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (won) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (extending) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali, and Mūḷabhadra, obtaining grace of boons from the Lady, unconquered when they strive, destroyers of adversaries, abstaining from the wives and property of others;

like Brahman in being skilled in the sixty-four arts; like Nārāyaṇa in having a *chakra* [disous, or association]; like Kāḷāgni-rudra in slaying with their gaze; like Paraśurāma in seeking out and slaying slayers; like a rut-blinded furious elephant in trampling down and slaying; like a lion when they seize and slay those who take shelter in mountain-fastnessess; like Vāsuki when they slay those who come to the underworld; like Garuḍa when they slay those who are in the sky; like the earth in greatness, like the central mountains in weightiness, like the ocean in profundity, like Rāma in energy, like Pṛithā's son [Arjuna] in prowess, like Gaṅgā's son [Bhīshma] in purity, like Bhīma in boldness, like Dharma's son [Yudhishṭhira] in righteousness, like Śahadēva in knowledge, like Indra in enjoyment, like Karṇa in bounty, like the sun in brilliance;

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they who are the supreme lords of Ayyavoḷe city, which is known as Ahichchhatra; to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmis, the gavaṟes, the gātriyas, the seṭṭis, the seṭṭi-guttas, the gāmaṇḍas, the chief-gāmaṇḍas, the men of valour, and the merchants of valour, Bilpāṇa-Seṭṭi and Gōvinda-Seṭṭi of Kollāpura, Komara Aṇṇamayya, Bijja-Seṭṭi and Boppi-Seṭṭi of Miriñje, Vesapayya-Seṭṭi the royal merchant of Gaṇḍarādityadēva, Bammi-Seṭṭi of Maṇḍalēśvara's household, the headmen Rāva-Seṭṭi, who is recorder of the house of the Sun-god in Kūṇḍitown, Chaudhore Boppi-Seṭṭi, Kannapayya-Seṭṭi the sheriff of Torāmbage, Chaudhore Goravi-Seṭṭi the intendant of Mayisige, Śānti-Seṭṭi of Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa, Hāliya-Seṭṭi the lion of the Five-hundred of Ayyavoḷe, Khapparayya the sheriff of Kavaḍegoḷḷa, and others, (representing) the whole country, being assembled:-

(ll.26-32) Areca-nuts, fifty on a load, twenty on a half-load, five on a *hasara*; betel leaves, one hundred on a load, fifty on a head-load, twenty-five on a *hasara*; clarified butter and oil, a *sollage* on each *koḍa*, half a maund on each siddige, one maund on each sarigaḍi. On each cloth-merchant's shop and goldsmith's shop, a *paṇam* on every gold piece. Cotton, five *palas* on each *maḷave*; two *bisige* on each *maḷave* of *karuse* (sold) from carts, ten *palas* on each half-load. On each house of *laṅkas* there shall be every six months (a due of) stools, tripods, and *maravi*, one of each; every year there shall be (a due of) one bedstead. On goods sold by weight, such as green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *baje*, and *bhadramuste*, there shall be (a due of) five *palas* on each load, two *palas* on half-load, one *pala* on a *hasara*; cummin, black pepper, and mustard, one maund on each load, a half-maund on each half-load, a *sollage* on each *hasara*; on salt and the other eighteen kinds of grain, one *koḷaga* on each cart-load, two maunds on each load, one maund on each head-load; dry and fresh fruits, ten on each cart-load, four on each head-load; on each cart-load one *daṇḍige*, five myrobolans; on each pair of hūṭes one *daṇḍige*, two myrobalans; on each basket of flowers one garland; for the potters, one pot on each shop. (ll.32-33) [Imprecation].

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[17]

Miraj, Miraj Tk, Sangli Dt. Slab in the fort gateway.
EI, 19, 4B, pp. 37–41. AD 1142–44.

[ll.1–5] *svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁca śata vīra śāsana labdha ānēka guṇa gaṇāḷaṁkṛita satya sauc ācāra cāru caritra naya vinaya vijñāna vīra baṇaṁja dharmma pratipāḷana viśudhdha guḍḍa dhvaja virājit ānūna sāhas ōttuṁga kīrtty aṁgan āliṁgita nija bhuja vijaya lakshmi nivāsa vakshasthaḷa bhuvana parākram ōnnata vāsudēva khaṇḍaḷī mūḷabhadra vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ*

[ll.5–12] *dvātrimsad vēḷā vuramum ashṭādaśa paṭṭaṇamum aṟuvattanālku ghaṭikā sthānamuṁ nānādēś ābhyaṁtarad eṁṭu nāḍa padinaṟuvaru*

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gavaṟegaruṁ gātrigaruṁ seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ baccaruṁ baḷegāṟaruṁ gaṁdhigaruṁ gāvuṇḍaruṁ gāvuṇḍasvāmigaḷuṁm arasugaḷuṁm arasu makkaḷuṁ maṁkaruṁ maṁkameṟevaruṁ birudaruṁ bira vaṇigaruṁ bārikaruṁ bārika jana hastaruṁ sāsiradēḷnūṟu gavaṟegaḷuṁm ahicchatra vinirggataruṁm ayyāvaḷe puraparamēśvararuṁ

śrī bhagavatī dēvi labdha vara prasādāy anēka nām āṁka māḷā virājitarum appa śrīmad aynūrvvar svāmigaḷuṁ samasta bhalluṁki daṁḍa hastaruṁ mummuridaṁḍamuṁ mukhyav āgiy

[ll.12–20] *ēḷvatt ēr cchāsirada prabhu pṛithvi seṭṭi miriṁjeya boppaṇayya rāja śrēshṭhi mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri vesapayya seṭṭiyaruṁ samaya samuddharaṇa sōvaṇa seṭṭiyaruṁ bāgeya mūliga cikka cavuṁḍa seṭṭiyuṁ dōṇikōḍa mummuridaṁḍa da...va seṭṭiyuṁ jayasiṁgada toḷakaleya siriyama seṭṭiyuṁ nāḍa perggaḍe hemma seṭṭiyuṁ kūṁḍilya seṭṭigutta malla seṭṭiyuṁ kuvara lakka seṭṭiyuṁ nigaḷada kēti seṭṭiyuṁ seḍaṁbāḷa boṁdalabbeya sūra seṭṭiyuṁ ākēta seṭṭiyuṁ cavuḍa seṭṭi alliya koppa seṭṭi...ya holla seṭṭi piriyuguvārada taḷa siriguppeya taḷa juguḷakoppada taḷa...geya taḷa yintu samasta taḷa mukhyavāgi seḍaṁbāḷalu mahā nāḍāgī neradu*

[ll.20–22] *śakavarsha 1065 neya duṁdubhi saṁvatsarada bhādrapada śudhdha 2 śukravāradaṁdu seḍaṁbāḷa mahāprabhu mādirājayyaṁ māḍisida śrī mādhavēśvara dēvar aṁga bhōgakke āy ūralu sukravārada saṁteyaṁ māḍi biṭṭāyam enteṁdoḍe*

[ll.22–38] *māṟida aḍakeya javaḷakk aḍakey irppattu hasuṁbeg aḍake hanneraḍu katteya hēṟiṁg iruppattaydu ko ettina javaḷamaṁ biricidalliy aḍakey ayvattu māṟu goṁḍavaralli hoṁgey aḍakeyippatu hēṟiṁge ele nūṟaivattu eṇṇeya koḍakke soḷaśsav eraḍu tuppada koḍakke soḷasav eṟaḍu bhaṁḍi goḍakke eṇṇe mānav oṁdu dhānya varggakke kōṇana hēṟiṁge mānav āṟu ettina bēṟiṁge baḷḷav oṁdu katteya bēṟiṁge mānav eraḍu hasarakke mānav oṁdalu saṭṭugav oṁdu voṭṭiliṁge koḷagav oṁdu hattiya hasaradalli dēvara soḍariṁge battige saṁḍage vatti voṁdu seṭṭi guttaṁ tanna biṭṭ āyam eṁt eṁdoḍe hasuṁbeyan ikkuvallī haseya javaḷi gaṁdhara baṭṭalu oṁdu gōṁṭu vicāraṁ geydavaralli mudrā paṇaṁ hoṁge hāgam arana bhaṁdi māṟiṁṛidalli mēlu dakkoṁdu bhaṁḍiyalu māṟida dhānya varggakke koḷagav oṁdu cayitrada parvvakke pura varggada prajegaḷu mithunakke biṭṭa hāga voṁdu dīpāvaḷiya parvvadalu beḷaguva soḍar eṇṇega ur oḷagaṇa sēṇigaru tamma manegaḷige maneyal oṁdu hāgav oṁdu biṭṭa hāgav oṁdu kuṁbāṟara hasarakke maḍake voṁdu akkasāle bammōja haḷḷadiṁ mūḍa hoṁge haṇavina pārikhā yad oḷage dēvargge biṭṭa aḍḍav oṁdu saṁmmagāṟaralli aṟu diṁgaḷige kuḍuva pādarakshe toḍ oṁdu mēdaralli saṁtege kuḍuva mōṟanu voṁdu mādegaralli aṟu diṁgaḷiṁge kuḍuva miḷi voṁdu*

[ll.38–41] *yiṁtī sāsana maryyādeyaṁ kiḍisidātaṁ gaṁge prayāge vāraṇāśi kurukshētradalu sāyira kapileyaṁ konda mahā pāṭakamam eyduva ādityatīrtthaṁgaḷalli tanna piriya maganaṁ kondu avana kapāladaluṁḍa*

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mahā dōshamam eyduva.

[ll.41–49] *svasti śrīman mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvaraṁ vijayāditya dēvarasaru vaḷavāḍada nele vīḍinalu sukha saṁkathā vinōdadiṁ rājyam geyvuttam iralu tat pāda padm ōpajīvigaḷ appa mahāpradhānaṁ suṁka verggaḍe bhāyipayya nāyakaru miriṁje nāḍa krēṇikāraṁ māḷapayya nāyakar ant irvvaru seḍaṁbāḷa prabhu sāmantaṁ mādirājayyaṁ gaḷu māḍisida śrī mādhavēśvara dēvara aṁga bhōgakk alliya tapōdhanar āhāra ānakkaṁ saka varsha 1066 neya rudhirōdgāri saṁvatsarada māgha bahuḷa 14 vaḍḍavāradaṁdu śivarātreya parvva nimittav āgiy ā dēvara maṭhad ācāryya śrīmatu sōvanāsi sidhdhānti dēvara kālaṁ karcci dhārā pūrvvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭa suṁkam ent endoḍ ā*

[ll.49–59] *seḍaṁbāḷa mundaṇe halḷadiṁ mūḍa puravarggav oḷag āgi kaṭṭid aṁgaḍigaḷgaṁ telligaru pasarigaru bhatta haṭṭigaṁ vokkalu deṟe parihāra mattaṁ santeya voḷagaṇa koḍad eṇṇey eleya hēṟugaḷa pomma kiṟukuḷa dhānyavarggaṁgaḷa moṭṭeya suṁkav oḷag āgi arddhādāna alli amtara vaṭṭadiṁ tīvida ettina aḍakeya hēṟiṁge mēl aḍake nūṟ ayvattu āṭhāṇāntaradalu naḍava suṁkigaru sauparṇṇakke tiṁgaḷiṁge voṁdu bēḷeyaṁ kuḍuvar*

intī dharmmamaṁ sa dharmmadiṁ pratipāḷisidargge gaṁge vāraṇāsi kurukshētradalu sāsira kavileya kōḍuṁ koḷagumaṁ ponnalu kaṭṭisi sāsirvva brāhmaṇarige koṭṭa phalam akku mattam idan aḷiḍaṁge gaṁgā yamunegaḷ eraḍaṟa saṁgamadoḷ agaṇṇya puṇṇya vara tīrttha sthānaṁgaḷoḷ iḷda tapōdhanara gō brāhmaṇaran aḷidan int idan aḷida.

Translation[6]

(ll.1–12) Hail! Headed by the Five-hundred Svāmis, all the bearers of bhallunki-staffs and all the bearers of mummuri-staffs, who are resplendent with a series of numerous titles such as "adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Baṇañja religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the device) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (won) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (extending) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍaḷi, and Mūḷabhadra, (inhabitants of) the thirty-two coast towns and eighteen *paṭṭaṇa*s and sixty-four *ghaṭikā-sthāna*s, the sixteen *gavaṟega*s and *gātriga*s and *seṭṭi*s and *seṭṭi-gutta*s and *bachcha*s and bracelet-sellers and scent-merchants and *gāvuṇḍa*s and chief *gāvuṇḍa*s and 'kings' and 'princes' and *maṅka*s and *maṅkameṟeya*s; and title-bearers and merchants of valour and *bārika*s and *bārika-jana-hasta*s and the thousand and seven-hundred gavaṟes of the eight provinces in the interior of various lands, who have come out of Ahichchhatra, who are supreme lords of the town of Ayyāvaḷe, and who obtain grace of booms from the divine Lady",

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(ll.12–19) Pṛithvi-Seṭṭi, sheriff of the Seventy-thousand; Boppaṇayya of Miriñje, the royal merchant; the great trader Vesapayya-Seṭṭi; Sōvaṇa-Seṭṭi, restorer of the church; Chikka Chavuṇḍa-Seṭṭi, the *mūliga* of Bāge; Da...va-Seṭṭi of Dōṇikōḍu, the bearer of the mummuri-staff; Jayasiṅgada Siriyama-Seṭṭi of Toḷakale; Hemma-Seṭṭi, head-man of the province; Malla-Seṭṭi, seṭṭi-gutta of Kūṇḍili; Kuvara Lakka-Seṭṭi; Nigaḷada Kēti-Seṭṭi; Sūra Seṭṭi, Ākēta-Seṭṭi (and) Chavuḍa-Seṭṭi, (sons?) of Bondalabbe, of Seḍambāḷ; Koppa-Seṭṭi, of the same place; (and) ...Holla-Seṭṭi, meeting at Seḍambāḷ; as a general county-assembly representing all the districts, namely the district of Piriyuguvāra, the district of Siriguppe, the district of Juguḷakoppa, and the district of...

(ll.19-22) on Friday, the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the cyclic year Dundubhi, th 105th (year) of the Śaka era, holding the Friday's market in that town, granted the following revenues for the personal enjoyment of the god Mādhavēśvara, (whose temple had been) constructed by Mādirājayya, the hight sheriff of Seḍambāḷ:-

(ll.22-29) on the sale of a half-load of areca-nuts, twenty nuts; on a shoulder-bag, twelve nuts; on an ass-load, twenty-five; on opening a [? buffalo's or] bullock's half-load, fifty areca-nuts; for purchasers, twenty areca-nuts per gold piece; on each load, a hundred-and-fifty betel-leaves; on a *koḍa* of oil, two soḷasa; on a *koḍa* of clarified butter, two *soḷasa*; on each *bhaṇḍi-goḍa*, one maund of oil; for the various kinds of grain, on a buffalo-load six maunds, on a bullock-load one *baḷḷa*, on an ass-load two maunds, on a *hasara* one ladleful in every one maund, on an *oṭṭil* one *koḷaga*; on each *hasara* of cotton, one *saṇḍage*-wick for wicks for the god's lamps.

(ll.29-32) The *seṭṭi-guttas* on their part granted the following revenues:- on laying down each shoulder-bag, one cloth for a couch (and) one *gandhara*-bowl (?); for those who examine *gōṇṭu*, a stamped *paṇam*, one quarter *paṇam* on each gold piece; on each sale of arana bhaṇḍi,16 one stick of better quality (?); on the various kinds of grain sold in a cart, one *koḷaga*.

(ll.32-38) For the festival of Chaitra the people of the parish gave a quarter .*paṇam* for each pairing. For oil for the lamps to be lit at the festival of the Dīpāvaḷi the guilds-men within the town granted on their own houses one quarter-*paṇam* for each house; on each shop of the potters, one pot; the goldsmiths granted to the god one *aḍḍa* in the assay-fee of a *paṇam* on every gold piece. In the case of the leather-workers, they gave one pair of slippers for every six month. In the case of the basket-makers, they gave one *mōṟu* for every fair. In the case of the cobblers, they gave one strap for every six months.

(ll.38-41) So he who infringes the constitution of this decree shall incur the deadly sin on slaying by the Ganges, in Prayāga, in Benares, or in Kurukshētra a thousand kine; he shall incur the deadly sin of slaying his own eldest son at

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the Āditya-tīrthas and eating from his skull.

(ll.41-43) Hail! While the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayādityadēvarasa was reigning in the standing camp of Vaḷavāḍa with enjoyment of pleasing conversations:-

(ll.43-49) they who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, both Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka the high minister and controller of taxes and Māḷapayya-Nāyaka the *krēṇikāṟa* of the province of Miriñje, for the personal enjoyment of the god Mādhavēśvara (whose temple was) constructed by the baron Mādirājayya, the sheriff of Seḍambāl, and for the provision of food to the ascetics of that place, on Thursday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgari, the 1066th (year) of the Śaka era, on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival, laved the feet of Sōvarāsi Siddhāntidēva, prior of the monastery of the god, and with pouring of water granted the following dues:- (ll.49-54) For the shops built within the parish east of the river on the east of Seḍambāl, the oilmen (and) shopkeepers shall give in the paddy-market, excluding the household-tax, half the takings within the market inclusive of a *koḍa* of oil, the pomma on loads of betel leaves and the petty dues, and the tolls on bags of the various kinds of grain; on each bullock's load of areca-nuts filled up there from the *antara-vaṭṭa* (they shall give) one hundred and fifty superior nuts; the toll-collectors on duty in the revenue-office shall give every month an eighth on each sauvarṇa coin.

(ll.54-59) Imprecation.

[18]

Telsang, Athani Tk, Belgaum Dt.
KI, II, pp. 79-85. Chalukya Jagadēkamalladēva. AD 1147.

[ll.1–9] [Praise of the Chalukya king, followed by the praise of the Kalacurya chief Mailugi.]

[ll.9–17] *jaḍadhipyāvṛita lakshmiyiṁdeseva jaṁbūdvīpamādvīpamaṁd eḍegoṁḍīrppudu kuntaḷāva ... khēḍa kharbbaḍa kīrṇnaṁ karahāṭamā vishaya lakshmī darppaṇam śrī kaḷaṁbaḍa ... ppi tōrppudu sadāsantaṁ basantaṁ kara kaṁdaṁ ā kaṁpaṇadoḷage śaṁ ... ynūrbbarvvidyā kuśaḷadharāmararim lōkōttara mesevudaga ...naḷa... doḷage vaiśyakuḷāgraṇigaḷu kēśavayyaseṭṭi pramu ... ... grahadiṁ dirpparamaḷaranupama caritaru negaḷdirddalliya... dānōnnatar prauḍharudghu guṇōpētar aniṁdyarāśrita janādhārar ssadācārar adriga bhirōnnatar uttamar kripayutar mmadhyasthar eṁdāgaḷuṁ jagapōranta bhivarnnikuṁ śivapada aṁbhōjāt asadbhaktaraṁ.*

[ll.17–21] *svasti śrī cāḷukya pratāpa cakravartti jagadēkamalladēva varshada 10neya prabhava saṁvatsarada āśvaijadamāvāśya ādityavāradaṁdina sūryagrahaṇa nimittadi śrīmanumahāgrahāraṁ telasaṁgavada mahājanaṁgaḷ*

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eraḍaynūrvva-svāmigaḷuṁ mūvattāṟuṁ bīḍina seṭṭiyaruṁ taḷada baṇaṁjiga seṭṭiyaruṁ samasta [na]karaṁgaḷum irddu satrakke biṭṭa dharmma venteṁdaḍe

[ll.21–34] *hoṟagaṇiṁ baṁdettu katte kōṇa bhaṁḍi yintinitakkaṁ āyadhānyavoḷagāgi hoṁgimmāna bhatta moṭṭekāṟaru taṁdu māṟida bhattadhānyavoḷagāgi hoṁge māna voṁdu mattavaṁgaḍi yareyaṁgaḍi dēvaraṁgaḍi mānyadaṁgaḍi yeṁnaduḍisuriyaṁ koṁḍu hasaraṁgeydu māṟuvaṁgaḍigaḷoḷella nicca nicca vommāna bhatta uppinaṁgaḍigaḷoḷella nicca sollageyuppu bāḍina santeya heḍagegaḷalu nicca bāḍu*

brahmaṇaracigārakke cinnageyikada haradarali tiṁgaḷiṁge pratyēka hāgavoṁdu kiṟiya cinnageyikadalli pratyēka tiṁgaḷimge vīsaveraḍuvare dūsiga gaṁdhigaraṁgaḍigaḷalli vīsaveraḍuvare satrakkaṭṭikkuva

brāhamaṇiyuḍuva sīrege sīreyaṁ koṁḍu māṟuva pavaṇigarali pratyēka barisakke hāgavoṁdu intinitumaṁ dhārāpūrvvakaṁ māḍikoṭṭaru

matta vī dharmmakke nakaraṁgaḷum dātārarāgi yāyadoḷavaṁgaḍigaḷoḷa vaṁdaṁdiṁge nōḍiyettisi yenibaru brahmaṇarigeyduvudanitara paripūrṇṇavāgikkisutta vintī dharmmamanā caṁdrārkkatāraṁbaram naḍasuttaṁ mirpparu. [Imprecation follows.]

Translation[7]

ll.9–17) (There is) Jaṁbūdvīpa glowing with splendour (Lakshmī) encircled by the sea. The Kuntala (land) is comprised in that Dvīpa.... Interspersed with hamlets and villages (khēḍa-kharbbaḍa) is Karahaṭa. A mirror to the Lakshmi; of that country (vishaya), was (the division) Kalambada ever (shining) with a glowing spring

In that kampaṇa .....superbly fine on account of the educated adepts the Brahmins numbering.....five hundred. In ..... are the spotless (persons) of peerless conduct.....headed by Kēśavayya-Seṭṭi who are the foremost of the Vaiśya caste.

Far famed there,... great in gift-making, high in esteem, possessed of superb virtues, uncensured, supporters of the refugees, of good conduct, high like a mountain, excellent, merciful, the mediators—thus the whole world extols in one voice the pious devotees of the lotus feet of Śiva.

(ll.17-21) Be it well. In the 10th year of Jagadekamalladeva the valorous Chalukya emperor, Prabhava Samvatsara, Asvaija, Amavasya, Sunday, on the occasion of solar eclipse, the two five hundred svāmins, the Mahājanas of the illustrious Mahagrahara Telasanga, the residential merchants of the thirty six camps, the indigenous (*taḷada*) Baṇanjiga-seṭṭis, and all the *nakara*s, having

[7] By R.S. Panchamuki.

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assembled in a meeting made a grant for the (benefit of) the *satra* (feeding house) as follows:-

(ll.22-29) Two *mānas* for each *hon* worth of paddy out of the āya-dhānya (corn-income) (leviable on the provisions imported from outside on ox, ass, he-buffalo or cart. One *māna* for each *hon* worth of paddy imported in head loads and sold. One *māna* of paddy every day, from each (open air, temporary) shops that bring the provisions in pouches and sell (in the street), irrespective of their being privileged or being the temple shops or *areyangaḍi*, etc. Every day one *sollage* of salt from each of the salt (-selling) shops; everyday vegetable (*bāḍu*) from each basket (of vegetables) in the vegetable market, for the payment of Brahmans, one *hāga* each, every month, from the retail jewel shops and two and a half *vīsa* every month from the small jewel shops and from the saree shops and perfume sellers. Every year on *hāga* from each of the retail dealers in sarees (*sīreyam koṇḍu māṟuva pavaṇīgar*) for the provision of sīre (saree) for the use of the Brāhmaṇiti (Brahmin woman) who cooks and serves in the satra (the feeding house).

(ll.29-32) All this was granted by the pouring of water. And, of this grant the *nakaras* (merchants) being the donors, (they) will continue it as long as the moon and the sun endure, watching the collections from the incomes and shops day to day, recovering and arranging for their payment in full to all the Brahmins.

(ll.32-34) Imprecatory verses.

[19]

Viharehinna, near Moragolla of Kandapalle Koralle in the Matale North Dt, Sri Lanka. On a stone slab within the ruined Buddha Vihara complex. *Avanam*, 9, pp. 33–34. c. AD 1150.

1. *svasti śrī samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsana laksh*
2. *milaṅkṛita varaprasāta ... śrīvāsutēva kaṇṭaḷi mūlabhatrōr*
3. *bhava śrī ashṭātaśa paṭṭana dvātriṁśat vēḷāpura ca*
4. *tushashṭi kaṭikaistāna diśayāśraya divyaśāra samaya*
5. *darmma sampūrṇṇa sakalapura nivāsaniyākiya śrī*
6. *aiyapoḷiṟ pura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya veyya cuṭar neṭu*
7. *vēl vīravaḷañceyar patiṉeṭṭu paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷā puramu*
8. *m aṟupattu nāṉku kaṭikaittāvaḷamum tāvaḷattucceṭṭi*
9. *yuñ ceṭṭi puttiraṉuṅ kavaṟaiyuṅ kātripaṉuṅ kāmuṇṭaśvā*
10. *miyum ōṭṭaṉum uḷpacumpaik kāṟaṉum aṅkakāṟaṉu*
11. *m āvaṇakkāṟaṉu... vīraṉum pāvāṭai vīraṉum āriyattō-*
12. *ṭarun tamiḻ valla ca... laṉum paḻutilāt toḻil va-*
13. *lla kaḻutai mēva... vaṉumuḷḷiṭṭu aṟam vaḷarak kali*

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14. *meliyap pukaḷ perukat ticaiyaṉaittuñ ceviṭu paṭāmaṟ ceṅkōlē*
15. *muṉṉāka samaya dharmam initu naṭāttukiṉṟa patineṇpūmi nāṉku*
16. *ticai nāṉātēcit ticai viḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaññūṟṟuvar kaṇṭiyamu-*
17. *ttar uḷḷiṭṭa patineṇpūmi (vi) vīrarōm mācēṉakāmamāṉa tanmacākarap paṭṭaṉa-*
18. *ttup perumakkaḷ eṅkaḷai nōkkic ceyta ciṟappāvatu nam uṭappiṟanta*
19. *mu... vaḷaṉ muttanāṉa nāṉātēci yāṇṭāṉai vēṇāṭuṭaiyār piṭittuc ci-*
20. *ṟaiceytu oṇpātukait taḷai yiḻuppiṉa pōtu āṭāṅkācu kuṭuttu vīṭu koṇ*
21. *ṭamaiyālum veḷḷittāli ceyviyttup patineṇpūmi eṟivīran tāṉame-*
22. *ṉṟu nāmañcāttit kulattiṉ pēriṭṭup peruñ ciṟappu ceytamaiyil nāṅ*
23. *kaḻum namperumakkaḻukkuc ciṟappuc ceyya vēṇṭumeṉṟu ni.ḻaṭṭuki .*
24. *viṭum viḻakkeṇṇaiyum paṇamuṇṇu nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḻum nam uṭap-*
25. *piṟantārum ippaṭṭiṉattil paṇamuṇṇātitākavum vīruñ cīrumāṭṭuttāvum paṟṟai*
26. *kaṭṭi ēṟātitākavum ivarukku pakaṟcōṟu peṟuvatāvum pāvāṭai mēnaṭai*
27. *nālu kācu peṟuvatākavum ippaṭic ceyya vīramuṟaimai aḻiyac ceytā*
28. *l paṇiyum ceṭiyum oṭukki muṭṭum puṟakum aṭikkappeṟuvatākavum ip*
29. *paṭi ceyyumaṭattu uttirattilaḻintu paṭuvānākil avaṉ piṇam nāyeḻavu*
30. *māvatākavum ipparicu camaintu kallum palakaiyum nāṭṭinōm tiraḷaṉ...*
31. *vaṟkālataṟkaṭṭiyuḷḷa nāṭṭucceṭṭiyum tiraḷaṉ kampanāṉa piḷḷaccakalan nāṉātēci iṭṭa*
32. *muṉaivallapa nāṉātēcikkōṉu nātāṉa namvīṭṭu muṟiyāṉum kūttaṉ kālanāṉa*
33. *nūṟāyiran tacamaṭi mummata vāraṇappiḷḷaiyum vīrakaḷ muṟpēr ārayaṉ kūttanāṉa vīrakaḷ*
34. *ainnūṟṟuva maṇṭila ayirashṭāṉamum pirāṉ cāttanāṉa vīrakaḷ cēnāpatiyāṇṭāṉum*
35. *kampaṉ villanāṉa cēnāpati vīrakāḻayum nāṭṭarayaṉ kaṇṇanāṉa aṟuvaṇampala piḷ*
36. *ḻaiyāṇṭāṉum tiruvaraṅkaṉ ēṟanāṉa tēciyāparaṇappiḷḷaiyum u ṭi. tēca pa*
37. *tineṇpūmi vīrarōm aṟamaṟavaṟka.*

Translation

[*ll.* 1–6] Hail! Prosperity! The heroic Vaḷañceyar possessing glittering long spears, who are refuge to all, who possess the 500 *vīra-śāsana*, who are adorned by Lakshmi, who came in the line of Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra, who carry on their *samaya-dharma*, the divine essence, in the 18 *paṭṭana*, the 32 *vēḷāpura* and the 64 *kaṭikai-stāna*, who live in all the *pura*,

[*ll.* 6-16] who are the children of Paramēśvari of Aiyapoḻil—they who belong to the 18 *paṭṭiṉam*, the 32 *vēḷāpuram* and the 64 *kaṭikait-tāvaḷam*, including the *cheṭṭi* of *tāvaḷam*, the *cheṭṭi-puttiraṉ*, the *kavaṟai*, the *kātrivaṉ*, the

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kāmuṇḍasvāmi, the *ōṭṭaṉ*, the *paṇa...*, the *aṅkakāṟaṉ*, the *āvaṇakkāṟaṉ*, ... , the *pāvāṭai-vīraṉ*, those conversant with both Sanskrit and Tamiḻ (languages) and those who ride the faithful donkeys, and who carry on their *samaya-dharma* happily with the righteous sceptre as their guide so that the rightousness shall prosper and the wickedness may disappear, with their fame spreading in all directions—they (comprise) the Five Hundred of the thousand directions of the eighteen lands and four cardinal directions and of several countries.

[*ll.* 16–22] We the *padineṇbūmi-vīrar* including Kaṇḍiyamuttu make the following resolution: Whereas we were honoured greatly by the Greatmen (*perumakkaḷ*) of Māsēnagāmam *alias* Tanmasāgara-paṭṭaṇam—That is, when our 'brother' Mu...vaḷaṉ Muttan *alias* Nānādēsiyāṇḍāṉ was arrested by Vēṇāḍuḍaiyār and put in chains, he was rescued by them by paying the ransom money (*aṭāṅkāsu*); further they got a silver amulet made and designated (this town) as *eṟivīran-tāṉam* after our community (*kulam*),

[*ll.* 22–26] we have also decided to honour the Greatmen. We will give up our right to collect lamp oil and we as well as the *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭis* and all our brethern who have the right to collect money fees in this town shall not collect the fees hereafter and we promise this upon our chivalrous tradition. ... [We] may get one day meal and for dress (*pāvāṭai*) we take 4 *kāsu* as per the existing custom.

[*ll.* 27–30] If anybody behaving unchivalrously obstructs this agreement, his office as well as his document shall be confiscated and he shall be beaten all over his knuckles and back and perchance he dies out of the agony he will be given a dog's burial. Thus having agreed we planted the stone and the wooden plank—we the *padineṇbūmi-vīrar*,

[*ll.* 31–37] namely Tiraḷaṉ... vaṟkālataṟkaṭṭiyuḷḷa nāṭṭuchcheṭṭi, Tiraḷaṉ Kampan *alias* Piḷḷachchakalan, Nāṉātēchi Iṭṭa muṉaivallapa nāṉātēcikkōṉ, Nātāṉa namvīṭṭu muṟiyāṉ, Kūttaṉ Kālan *alias* Nūṟāyiran Tachamaṭi-mummata-vāraṇappiḷḷai, Vīrakaḷ Muṟpēr ārayaṉ Kūttan *alias* Vīrakaḷ Ainnūṟṟuvamaṇṭila-ayirashṭāṉam, Pirāṉ chāttan *alias* Vīrakaḷ Chēnāpatiyāṇṭāṉ, Kampaṉ Villan *alias* Chēnāpati Vīrakāḷay, Nāṭṭarayaṉ Kaṇṇan *alias* Aṟuvaṉampala-piḷḷaiyāṇṭāṉ, Tiruvaraṅkaṉ ēṟan *alias* Tēchiyāparaṇappiḷḷai. Please do not forget the charity.

[20]

Budumuttava, Kurunegala Dt, Sri Lanka. On a stone slab fixed into a wall in the Rājamahā Vihāra.
Avanam, 9, pp. 37–38. c. AD 1150.

[ll.1–6] *svasti śrī samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsana lakshmilaṅkṛita vakshstala.... śrī vāsudēva kaṇḍaḷi mūlapattrōrbhava...śrī*

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aiyyappoḻiṟ paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya mākalāṉa vikkirama calāmēkapurattup perumakkaḷ

[l.6–14] *patineṇpūmi vīraḷ ..i nōkkic ceyta ciṟappu ilaṅkac ceṇṭā...rama...ma vīrakoṭiyāril valaṅkaiyāṇṭān mū...taṉ bṛintattōṭum vārāniṉṟa [samayat] ... koṇṭa kuṟuvaraik kuttuvittup ..ya āṭi bṛintamum viṭuvittamaiyālum tēci...ṉṟaiyāṉa koṅka vāḷāṇṭāṉṉāl kaḷamattil māsta...kkai vēḷ āṭiṉavarai vīrakoṭit tantirattukku kāṭṭik kuṭuttu aṭṭi vaittamaiyālu*

[ll.14–17] *maṟṟum vīrakoṭiyārai nōkki palavitattinālum rakkshittamaiyālum patineṇpūmi vayiśrāvaṇa... [vayuṟu] vāytta lōkamātāvai vīramākāḷa meṉṟu pēr cāttinamaiyālum*

[ll.17–26] *paramēśvarikkum aññūṟṟuvaṉ paḷḷiyil lōka peruñ ceṭṭiyārkku nāṅkaḷ uṇṇakkaṭava paṇamum vēṭṭāṭun tiruviḷakkeṇṇayum viṭṭōm paṇamuṇṇāmaikku vīrakoṭiyārkku viṭum viḷakkeṇ.... nāḷ mekkaṇṭu cōṟiṭṭup pāvāṭaikku mēnaṭai āṟu kācu iṭakkaṭavicāka amaittuk kuṭuttōm patineṇpūmi vīrakoṭiyōm vīruñ cīrumāṭip patineṇpūmi vīrarōm perimeḻala... ka amaittuk kuṭuttōm patineṇpūmi vīrakoṭiyōm aṟamaṟavaṟka vīrataḷakkal.*

Translation

They who protect the entire world, who obtained the 500 heroic charters, who are adorned by Lakshmi and who were created by Vāsudēva, Kaṇḍaḻi and Mūlabhadra, who are the children of Paramēśvari of Aiyapoḻil—the *perumakkaḷ* of Mākal *alias* Vikkiramachalāmēkapuram honoured the *patineṇpūmi-vīrakoḍiyār* in several ways: While Valaṅgaiyāṇḍān, a member of the *vīrakoḍiyār*, proceeding with his kinsmen was obstructed by the enemies (*kuruvar*) the latter were pierced and the kinsmen were released; While koṅkavāḷāṇḍān had some problem in an encounter the enemy was caught and handed over to [*vīrakoḍi*]-*tantiram*; Again they protected *vīrakoḍiyār* in several ways and gave the epithet *vīramākāḷam* to the temple of Lōkamāta who begat the *vaiśrāvaṇas* (the merchant community). For all these good things we decided to grant our lamp oil and the money dues we have been enjoying to the deities Paramēśvari and Lōkapperuñcheṭṭi of Aññūṟṟuvan-paḷḷi. We also relinquished the lamp oil collected in lieu of the money dues. We shall give a meal to the collector of the above dues and give six *kāsu* as of old towards his cloth money. We promise to protect this gift (according to our chivalrous tradition). Do not forget charity. This is the stone of *vīrataḷam*.

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[21]

Belagami (Baligami), Shikarpur Tk, Shimoga Dt. Stone near Somesvara temple. *EC*, VII, Sh.118. c. AD 1150.

Part I[8]

— *svasti samasta bhuvanāśrayaṁ śrī pṛithvī vallabhaṁ mahārājādhirājaṁ paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ satyāśraya kuḷa tiḷakaṁ cāḷukyābharaṇaṁ śrīmat traiḷōkyamalla dēva vijayarājyam uttarōttarābhivṛiddhi pravardhamānam ācandrārkkatāraṁ baraṁ salluttam ire* —

svasti samasta praśasti sahita śrīmad anādi paṭṭaṇaṁ rājadhāni baḷḷigrāmeya paṭṭaṇa madhyadoḷu śrīmadu vaḍḍha byavahāri hālikabbeya sōvi seṭṭi saka varshada 976 neya jaya saṁvatsarada vaiśākha bahuḷa aksheya tritīyad amāvāse ādivāra nimittaṁ dharmma cittar āgi liṅga pratishṭheyaṁ māḍiy abhinava sōmēśvara dēvar endu pesaran iṭṭā dēvara snāna nivēdyakkaṁ nandādīvigegav alliy ācāryara grāsakkav endu biṭṭa taḷa vṛitti

*a*r̲*ekereya keḷagaṇa gadde* [The details of boundaries of the land follow.] *kēriy ondumaṁ tamm ārādhyar paṭṭaṇada mūliga jñānasiva dēvara kalaṁ karcci dhārā pūrvvaka sarvva namśya sarva bādhā parihāram āgi biṭṭan.*

Part II

*ā dēvālyaṁ kāla kramadiṁ jīrṇṇav āgalu paṭṭaṇasāvi mēci seṭṭi kīrtti seṭṭiy aśēsha nagara pañca maṭhaṁ hiriya maṭhaṁ bhēruṇḍēśvarad ācāryyaṁ mūliga madukēśvara paṇḍita dēvaruṁ pañca liṅgad ācāryya sarbbēśvara paṇḍita dēvaruṁ tripurāntakad ācāryya jñāna śakti dēvaruṁ var int inimbara sannidhānadalu samasta mummuri daṇḍamum nānādēsi byavahārigaḷum maṇigā*r̲*a mahādēva seṭṭi int inibaruṁ tamma dharmmav āgi kaikoṇḍu gava*r̲*ēśvara dēvar endu pesaran iṭṭu jīrṇṇōddhāramaṁ māḍidayanūrvvara praśasti*

svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta pañca sata vīra śāsana labdhānēka guṇa gaṇāḷaṅkṛita satya saucācāra cāru caritra naya vinaya vijñāna vīra baṇañju dharmma pratipāḷa visuddha guḍḍa dhvaja virājamāna mānānūna sāhasa lakshmy āliṅgita vakshasthaḷa bhuvana parākramōnnataruṁ vāsudēva khaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadra vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ bhagavati labdha vara prasādaruṁ

dvātriṁsadu vēḷōmarav ashṭādasa paṭṭaṇaṅgaḷu caushashṭhi yōga pīṭhamuṁ catur ddiśey āśrama nānādēśa bhramāntukaravargge puṭṭiyuṁ

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[8] The inscription consists of two parts: The editor of this inscription, Lewis Rice, has dated the first part to AD 1050 and the second part to 1150. The date for the second part is only an assumption, on the grounds that there was some interval between the two parts.

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kṛita yuga trēte dvāpara kali yugaṁ modal āge brahma vishṇu mahēśvararavara mataṁ prithviye hasumbey āge ashṭa lōkapālakarē gōṇṭāge vasugiyē baḷas āge phaṇi kulaṅgaḷē dārav āgi bokkaṇa voḷa vasumbey āgi cakramē beḷav āgi kūr asiye mara surigey āge hasumbeyoḷ amūlya vastugaḷē vastugaḷ āgi

cēra cōḷa pāṇḍya maleya magadha kauśaḷa saurāshṭra dhanushṭra kurumbha kāṁbhōja gaulla lāḷa barvvara pārasa nēpāḷa ēkapāda lambakarṇṇa strī rājya ghōḷāmukham emba nānādēśaṅgaḷolaṁ grāma nagara khēḍa kharvvaḍa maḍamba paṭṭaṇa drōṇāmukha saṁvāhanav emba digudanti paṭṭaṇaṅgaḷaṁ pāda mārgga jala mārggadoḷu shaṭ khaṇḍa maṇḍaḷaṅgaḷaṁ pokkku

bhadrahasti jātyaśva indranīla candrakānta muttu māṇikya vajra vaiḍūryya gōmēdhika pushyarāga padmarāga pavaḷa marakata karkkētana nānā vastuṅgaḷuman ēlā lavaṅgav agaru candana karppūra kastūri kuṅkuma malegajādi sugandha dravyaṅgaḷumaṁ pēriyuṁ māriyuṁ pegaloḷ āntu suṅka cchāyamumaṁ kiḍisi cakravarttiya suvarṇṇa bhaṇḍāramumaṁ māṇikya bhaṇḍāramumaṁ paṭṭisa bhaṇḍāramumaṁ

tekkane tīvi mikkudaroḷu catus samaya shaḍdarśana viśishṭa vidagdha paṇḍita muni janaṅgaḷge nityaṁ bese keyyuttaṁ avara parasida āśīrvvāda śata sahasra vacanaṅgaḷaṁ taleyoḷ āntu kaykoḷuttaṁ mahādēvaruman ishṭa dēvarum āgi bagedu dharmmārtha kāma bhōgaṅkaḷumam mahāsukhadim anubhavisutta gārddapa mahishāvāhaka cēḷābharaṇa bhūshitar appa

eṁṭuṁ nāḍa padinaruvaruṁ gavaregaḷuṁ gātrigaruṁ seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ aṅkakāraruṁ bīraruṁ bīravaṇigaruṁ gandigaruṁ gāvuṇḍaruṁ gāvuṇḍa svāmigḷu entu baluṅke daṇḍahastaruṁ

āneyē bhēriy āgi bhēriyē maddaḷey āgi beḷugoḍegaḷē neḷal āgi mahā samudramē nīrgārigey āgi indranē karagarvaḷan āgi varuṇanē gaḷeviḍivan āgi dhanadanē bhaṇḍārigan āgi navagrahaṅgaḷē kaṅkaṇav āgi rāhuvē toṅgal āge kētuvē surigey āgi kuḷikanē money āgi candrādityarkkaḷē beṁbalav āgi muvattu mū dēvarkaḷē nōṭakarkaḷ āgi kshamey emba bāḷaṁ kirttu krōdha śatruvemba hagevanan iridu kādi gelda bhaṭariya makkaḷa davaruga para nirghghōshaṇarum appa śrīmad aiyyāvoḷey ainūrvvar svāmigaḷu tammaḷ oḷḷidaruṁ nirmmaḷa tējarum tēja tējōttuṅgaruṁ satyadalu gāṅgēyar annaruṁ caladalu duryyōdhanan annaruṁ dōrvvaladalu bhīmasēnan annaruṁ āneyentey aṭṭi koluvaruṁ hasavinante nindu koluvaruṁ hāvinante vishade koluvaruṁ siṁhadante sirddu koluvaruṁ bṛihaspatīyante buddhimantaruṁ nārāyaṇanant upāya karttāraruṁ nārada ṛishiyante kalaha sampūrṇṇaruṁ bendēri mirttu garavaruṁ hōha māriya callavāḍuvaruṁ baha māriyan idirggoḷuvaruṁ huṭṭirda huliyaṁ keṇakuvaruṁ hariva bhaṇḍiya kālaṁ kāvaruṁ kesaraṁ kicciḍuvaruṁ maṇala saraviyaṁ posavaruṁ siḍilaṁ pīḍidu tōrpparuṁ candrādityarkaḷaṁ neḷak iḷihuvaruṁ īśvara bhaṭṭārakana nōsala kaṇṇu caturbhujamumaṁ brahmar aṭṭahāsamumaṁ bhagavatigunmathamumam appa traiḷōkya vākya vacanaṅgaḷmaṁ sādisuva sādhakanante traiḷōkyamaṁ sādisuva

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guḍḍa sāstrad avayava lakshaṇaṅgaḷan aṟidu nuḍiv aṅgaḍi vandirggaḷmaṁ dese masagi bappa pasumbegaṁ kaṇa paṟida karttegaṁ muridu birdda peṇakkaṁ sūṟevōda bhaṇḍakkaṁ ettida nettara kūregaṁ paṭṭa pāḷakkaṁ pāyda bēligaṁ moṟey emba śabdakkaṁ sameya dharmmakka kūḍida saṁhātakkaṁ māḍida byavasthegaṁ tappuvar allaru toṅgalinante pagevana taleyaṁ koṇḍu paṭṭigeyante pagevana hastavaṁ kaṭṭi meṟevaruṁ paṇavan ollaru peṇakke nallar

svasti samasta praśasti sahitaṁ śrīmad ayyāvoḷey aynūrvva svāmigaḷgę sāshṭāṅgav eṟagi poḍavaṭṭu ikku hasumbeyaṁ nīḍu sasiyaṁ kuḍu seṭṭi srīmad ayyāvoḷey aynūrvva svāmigaḷge taḷige dambulamaṁ hoyi jayamaṅgaḷamaṁ

svasty anavarata paramōtsāhigaḷ enipa śrīmad aynūrvvaruṁ paṭṭaṇasāvi mēci seṭṭi kīrtti seṭṭimukhyav aśēsha nagaraṅgaḷuṁ gavarēśvara dēvara aṅga bhōgakkav alliya khaṇḍa sphuṭita jīrṇṇōddhārakaṁ koṭṭa dharmmāyaṁ

śrī nagaraṅgaḷ aṅgaḍigaḷalu varshakke pratyēka vīsaṁ battu cinnageyikada byavahārigaḷu pratyēka varshakke vīśaṁ hattu sthaḷada gavaṟegaḷu varshakke hasuṁbega paṇav ondu nānādēśi gavaṟegaḷu varshakke hasuṁbege hāgav ondu karpūra kastūri kuṅkuma śrīkhaṇḍaṁ muttoḷagāgi samasta tūkada bhaṇḍav anitakkaṁ poṅge kāṇi eraḍu

sthaḷada dūsiga vyavahārigaḷaluṁ nānādēśi dūsiga vyavahārigaḷaluṁ poṅge kāṇi eraḍu meḷasu jīrige sāsavi sadahuge vōva kottumbaliy oḷagāgi poṅge vīsav ondu sakhkhare yiṅgu suṇṭhi hippali ēleyakiy allav arisina nāru bēru samasta tūkada bhaṇḍakke poṅge vīsa ondu

hejjuṅka vaḍḍa rāvuḷake naḍava daṇḍanāyakaru hattakondu hērina suṅkavaṁ biṭṭu koṭṭaru sthaḷada hēṟuva baṇañjigaru horagaṇiṁ banda samasta baṇañjigaraṁ hēriṅge māna vondu mālagāṟa nālvatt okkalalu tamma karaṇḍagegaḷalu pratyēka hūvina saravondu

tambuliga sāsirabbaralu caitra pavitrada parvva biyakke vokkalu ele sāyirav onduṁ telligar aivatt okkalaluṁ dēvara nandādīvigege gāṇaṅgaḷalu pratyēka eṇṇe soṇṭige vondu jiḍḍuḷige yeppattara manneya ekkalarasaṁ mukhyav āgi naḷ prabhu ciṭṭavūra kāḷa gāvuṇḍanuṁ [Others named]

samasta prabhu gāvuṇḍugaḷuṁ taṁ tarumm ūrala varshaṁ prati dēvarige koṭṭa paṇav aydu nāgarakhaṇḍav eppattara manneya sōvi dēva mukhya koṇavattiya prithvī seṭṭiyuṁ [Others named.]

samasta prabhu gāvuṇḍugaḷuṁ tam tamm ūralu varshaṁ prati dēvargge koṭṭa paṇav aydu eḍennāḍ eppattara manneyaṁ sōvarasa praṇamarasa mukhyav āgi agrahāraṁ eleseya mahājanaṅgaluṁ kuppageḍeya mahājanaṅgaḷuṁ osavūra bhīva gavuṇḍanum [Others named.]

antu samasta prabhu gāvuṇḍagaḷuṁ varshakka ūr ūralu paṇav aydaṁ koṭṭaru [Some more grants follow.]

priyadin ār orbbar īdharmamaṁ pratipāḷipar avarggaḷu kurukshētradoḷu

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gayeyoḷu gaṅgeyoḷu vāraṇāsiyoḷ arghyarīrtthadoḷu vēdaśāstra prayukta niyama nishṭhita vipra kōtige kōṭi kavileyaṁ vidhiyind ubbaya mukhiyaṁ bayasī kuḍevērppa puṇyatithiyoḷ itta puṇya phaḷamaṁ paḍevar sandēham uṇṭe

[Usual final verses of imprecation.] *vanē vanta tarun agnir ddahan mūlāni rakshiti kulaṁ sndahati saha mūlaṁ vinaśyati.*

Translation[9]

Part I

[Invocation to various gods.]

Be it well. When, (with usual Chāḷukya titles), Trailōkyamalla-Dēva's victorious kingdom was extending on all sides, to continue as long as sun moon and stars:-

Be it well. With all titles, in the middle of the immemorial city, the royal city Balligrāme, the *vaḍḍa-byavahāri* (or senior merchant), Hālikabbe's (son) Sōvi-Śeṭṭi, (on the date specified), being moved to perform a work of merit, set up a linga, and giving it the name of Abhinava-Sōmēśvara-dēva, - for the bathing of the god, offerings, perpetual lamp, and the food of the āchāryya there, granted as a taḷa-vriti certain land (specified). Its boundaries. Also a flower garden and shops (specified). These, washing the feet of the ārādhya, the paṭṭaṇada-mūliga, Jnānśiva-dēva, he made over with the ceremonies, freed from all imposts.

Part II

The temple in course of time falling to ruin,—in the presence of the Paṭṭaṇasāvi Mēchi-Seṭṭi, Kirtti-Seṭṭi, all the *nagara*s and the five *maṭha*s; of Mūliga-Madhukēśvara-paṇḍita-dēva, priest of the hiriya-maṭha Bhēruṇḍēśvara; Sarbhēśvara-paṇḍita-dēva, priest of the Pancha Linga; and Jnānaśakti-dēva, priest of Tripurāntakā—all the mummuri-daṇḍa, and all the Dēśi merchants, with the *maṇigāra* Mahādēva-Seṭṭi, taking this in hand as a work of merit belonging to them, gave to that god the name of Gavarēśvara and repaired the temple.

Titles of the Five hundred (who took part):- Be it well. Fame throughout the world; having acquried five hundred vīra-śāsanas; adorned with many good qualities, truth, purity, good conduct, policy, condescension, and prudence; protectors of the *vīra-Banañju-dharma*; conspicuous with the flag of the holy hill; their breasts embraced by the Lakshmi of unfailing energy; great in the earth through bravery; born in the race of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍaḷi and

[9] By Lewis Rice.

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Mūlabhadra; obtainers of a boon from the goddess Bhagavatī; having thirty-two vēḷōma, eighteen cities, sixty-four yōga-pīthas, and āśramas at the four points of the compass; born to wanderers over many countries; beginning from the Krita-yuga, the Trēta, Dvāpara and Kali-yugas, of the sect of Brahma, Vishṇu and Mahēśvara. The earth as their sack; the eight regents at the points of the compass as the corner tassels; Vāsuki as the girth; the serpent race as the cords; the betel pouch as a secret pocket; the horizon as their light; a sharp sword as their wood knife; the invaluable articles in their bags as their wealth; visiting the Chēra, Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kauśaḷa, Saurāshṭra, Dhanushṭra, Kurumbha, Kāmbhōja, Gaulla, Lāḷa, Barvvara, Pārasa, Nēpāḷa, Ēkapāda, Lambakarṇṇa, Strī-rājya, Ghōḷāmukha, and many other countries;

and the *grāmas*, *nagaras*, *khēḍas*, *kharvvaḍas*, *maḍambas*, *paṭṭaṇas*, *drōṇāmukhas*, and *saṁvīhanas*,—the cities of the elephants at the cardinal points; and by land routes and water routes penetrating into the regions of the six continents; with superior elephants, well bred horses, large saphhires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, *karkkētana* and various such articles; cardamoms, cloves, bdellium, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, *malegaja*, and other perfumes and drugs; by selling which wholesale, or hawking about on their shoulders, preventing the loss by customs duties, they fill up the emperor's treasury of gold, his treasury of jewels, and his armoury of weapons; and from the rest they daily bestow gifts on *paṇḍits* and *munis* fully versed in the *chatus-samaya shaḍ-darśana*; and the hundred thousand benedictions they invoke, accepting and placing on their heads, counting them as Mahādēva and their *ishṭa-dēva*; enjoying in great comfort, merit, wealth, pleasure and property (the four objects of human desire);

carriers with asses and buffaloes, adorned with red t...ppings; the sixteen of the eight *nāḍs*, *gavaṟegas*, *gātrigas*, *seṭṭis*, *seṭṭiguttas*, *aṅkakāṟas*, *biras*, *bīravaṇigas*, *gandigas*, *gāvuṇḍas*, *gāvuṇḍa-svāmis*,—thus with spear-headed rods in their hands, with an elephant as their *bhēri* (kettle-drum), the *bhēri* (a sect) as their *maddaḷe* (tabor), white umbrellas as their canopy, the mighty ocean as their moat, Indra as the hand-guard, Varuṇa as the standard-bearer, Kubēra as the treasurer, the nine planets as a belt, Rāhu as a tassel, Kētu as a dagger, Kuḷika as the fight, the sun and moon as the backers, the thirty-three gods as the spectators; they draw forth the sword kshame (patience), and with it piercing the enemy named *krōdha* (anger); having the *ḍavaruga* and *para-nirghghōshaṇa* of the sons of warriors who have fought and won.

Five hundred svāmis of the auspicious Aiyyāvoḷe, the best among their people, of unsullied fame, of lofty and brilliant glory, in truthfulness like Gāṅgēya, in firmness like Duryyōdhana, in might like Bhīmasēna; like the elephant, they attack and kill; wise as Brihaspati; fertile in expedients as Nārāyaṇa; perfect in disputes as Nārada-rishi; raising a fire, they seize like death; the gone Māri (or epidemic) they make fun of; the coming Māri they face; the tiger with a collar

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on they irritate; on the moving cart they place their feet; clay they set fire to: of sand they make ropes; the thunderbolt they catch and exhibit; the sun and moon they draw down to earth: knowing the contents of the Guḍḍa-śāstra, which directs the conversation of the three worlds, they converse about the frontal eye and four arms of Iśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, the loud laughter of Brahma, and the madness of Bhagavati. In the case of sack which bursts from the contents collected from the points of the compass, an ass which runs away (laden) with grain, a wounded and fallen body, a cart that has been robbed, a blood load that has been lifted, a bar of gold that has been seized, a tax that has been evaded, a cry of looting, an assembly connected with caste customs, a bargain that has been made,- they are not ones to fail; taking the head of an intruder as the tassel, they bind the enemy's hand as a badge (on a pole), and parade about; gambling they will not allow; to a dead body they are good.

Be it well. To the Five hundred *svāmi*s of Ayyāvoḷe, possessed of all titles, having made prostration with six members, salute with joined hands raised to the head, pull out that sack, and present offerings of food, O Seṭṭi! To the Five hundred svāmis of Ayyāvoḷe present the *tāmbūla* in the tray, wishing them all good fortune.

Be it well. The ever supremely happy Five hundred, with the paṭṭaṇa-sāvi Mēchi-Seṭṭi, Kirtti-Seṭṭi and all the townspeople, for the decorations of the god Gavarēśvara, and repairs of the temple, granted the following dueś—The shops of the *nagara*s, 10 *vīsa* a year for each; the gold merchants, 10 *vīsa* a year for each; the local *gavare*s, 1 paṇa a year per sack; the gavaṛes of other countries, 1 *hāga* a year per sack; for camphor, musk, saffron, sandal, pearls and all such commodities sold by wieght, 2 kāṇi per *pon*; local cloth merchants and foreign cloth merchants, 2 *kāṇi* per *pon*; for black pepper, cummin seed, mustard, sada flower, bishop's weed and coriander, 1 *vīsa* per *pon*; for sugar, asafoetida, dry ginger, long pepper, cardamoms, green ginger, turmeric, and all drugs and roots sold by weight, 1 *vīsa* per *pon*.

The *daṇḍanāyaka* managing the *hejjunka* and *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* granted the customs dues on one load in ten; the merchants who load from the place and all merchants from abroad, 1 *māna* per load; the forty families of flower-sellers, 1 garland for each basket; the thousand *tāmbūligas*, 1000 leaves for each family for the Chaitra and *pavitra* festivals; the fifty families of oilmen, 1 *soṇṭige* for each mill, for the lights of the god.

The *manneya* of the Jidduḷige Seventy, Ekkalarasa and other chief men (named), gave for the god 5 paṇa a year for each village. The *manneya* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, Sōvi-dēva and chief man (named), 5 paṇa a year for each village. The *manneya* of the Eḍenād; Seventy, Sōvarasa Praṇamarasa and chief men (named), 5 *paṇa* a year for each village.

Farther grants. Usual final verses.

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[22]

Managoli, Baswana Tk, Bijapur Dt. Slab in Hanuman temple.
EI, V, 3A, pp. 15–20. AD 1161.

[ll.1-59] [Refers to the building of the Śiva temple called Kalidēvēśvara by a Brahmana named Basavayya and to certain donations made to the temple in the time of the Western Chalukya king Jagadēkamalla II.]

[ll.59–64] *ōm svasti srīmat kaḷacuryya bhujabalacakravartti tribhuvanaikavīra bijjaladēva varshada 6 neya vishusaṁvastsarada bhādrapada bahuḷa 6 maṁgaḷavāradaṁdu svasti samasta vastu vistirṇṇaghūrṇṇitārṇṇava ninādapraṇutānūta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁcasata vīrasāsana labdhānēka guṇa gaṇāḷaṁkrita satya saucāra cārucāritra naya vinaya vijñāna vīra baṇaṁja dharmma pratipāḷanarappa srīmad ayyāvoḷeyaynūrvva svāmigaḷu mukhyavāgi yeṁṭuṁ nāḍa padinaṟuvaruṁ nānādēsābhyaṁtarada gavaṟēgaḷuṁ muṁmuridaṁḍamuṁ paṭṭada mane maṇiṁgavaḷḷiyal mahānāḍāgi neredēkastharāga*

irddalliya prabhu mukhya veraḍaynūrvvaruṁ taḷada seṭṭiyaruṁ nakaraṁgaḷum aḍḍa hēṟuva seṭṭiyarum eleya gātrigaruṁ telliga gottaḷiyuṁ tarddavāḍi sāsirada hiṭṭina gaḷeya bārikanuṁ neredēkastharāgirddu

[ll.64–73] *kapilacaṭṭi vyatīpāta parvva nimittavāgi śrī siddhaliṁga kalidēvēsvaradēvargge dēvakāryamaṁ naḍasal taṁma dharmmavāgi nakaraṁgaḷ hatti haṁnirddhānya samasta bhaṁḍavāne māṇikavoḷagāgi tāvu māṟu goṁḍaṁtappa bhaṁḍakke hoṁgara vīsamam koṭṭaru gātrigaru tāvu māṟidelege hoṁgayvatteleyaṁ koṭṭar hēṟuva seṭṭiyaru hoṟagaṇiṁdaṁ taṁda haṁnirdhānya modalāgi samastabhaṁḍavāne māṇikavoḷagāgi taṁdu māṟitakke hoṁge vīsamaṁ koṭṭaru*

ī sthaḷadal tāvu māṟugoṁḍu tuṁbida bhattake hoṁge vīsamaṁ koṭṭar telliga gottaḷigaḷu dēvara naṁdā dīvigege gāṇaṁgaḷaloṁdoṁdu haḷigeyeṇṇeyaṁ koṭṭaru sāliga samayaṁgaḷ gauḍa mukhyavāgi nūlaparvvakke varshaṁ prati okkalalli vīsavaydam koṭṭar dēdara kottaḷigaḷ nūla parvvakke hāluṁ nūluṁ baṟagi beṟaṭṭuṁbokkalalli varsham prati vīsavaydaṁ koṭṭaru sēṇiga gottaḷigaḷ nūla parvvakke varshaṁ prati kuṟiba sēṇigar okkal okkalalu vīsavaydaṁ koṭṭar

billamūnūrvvaruṁ biṭṭa dharmmavoyeṁdu māṟuva heḍageya haṇṇu haṁpal bāḍu kāyge hiḍi bāḍu hiḍi haṇṇaṁ koṭṭar mēdarokkalugaḷ hūvina karaḍage heḍaḷage maṭhave...kere hērasiyaṁ sadākālaṁ naḍasuvaṁtāgi koṭṭar gauḍu mukhyavāgi gauḍokkala neravigal gaṁda gūsu heṁgusoṁnade maduvege visavaydam dēvarāyavāgi koṭṭar varsham prati vaḷiyeraḍaṁ koṭṭar intī dharmmamanā caṁdrārkkaṁ sthāyi varaṁ naḍevantāgi koṭṭar

ī dharmmamaṁ sāsana maryyādeyiṁ nāḍugaḷ pratipālisuvar ī dharmmakkaḍḍa khaṁḍava nāḍugaḷg idirādavan avaṁge samudrama...ane bīra vaṇigan adakkaynūrvvara besadiṁ billa mūnūrvvaru kāvar maṁgalamahā śrī.

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Translation[10]

(ll.59–73) Hail! On Tuesday (coupled with) the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of (the month) Bhādrapada of the Vishu saṁvatsara which was the sixth of the years of the glorious Kaḷachurya Bijjaladēva , an emperor by the strength of his arm, the sole hero of the three worlds,- when, headed by the five-hundred Svāmins of the famous (town of) Ayyāvoḷel who were preservers of the strict Baṇañja-religion, the sixteen of the eight districts, and the Gavaṟes of many districts, and the Mummuridaṇḍa, were met together in a great district (assembly) at the royal abode Maṇiṁgavaḷḷi, and were standing in one place,

and when, headed by the Prabhu of that place , the two five-hundreds, and the Seṭṭis of the locality, and the Nakaras, and the Seṭṭis who made a business of lading..., and the betel-leaf Gātrigas, and the guild of oilmen, and the sealer of flour and churning-sticks of the Tardavāḍi thousand, were met together and were standing in one place, on account of the festival of the vyatīpāta of the (*tithi* called) kapila-chaṭṭi, to the god Siddhaliṅga-Kalidēvēśvara, in order to continue the rites of the god, the Nakaras gave half a *vīsa* per *honnu* on each bale of the things which they bought, including rubies and all the stock of cotton and the twelve kinds of grain;

and the Gātrigas gave fifty betel-leaves per *honnu* on the betel-leaves that they sold; and the loading Seṭṭis gave a *vīsa* per *honnu* on the sale of such things, including rubies and all the stock of the twelve kinds of grain, which they imported from outside, and a *vīsa* per *honnu* on the paddy which they bought and loaded in the locality itself; and the guilds of the oilmen gave one haḷige of oil on each oil-mill, for the perptual lamp of the god; and the guilds of the weavers, headed by the Gauḍa, gave five *vīsa*s per poll, year by year, for the nūlu-festival;

and the Kottaḷis of the god gave five *vīsa*s per poll, year by year, for the nūlu-festival, on those who dealt in milk, thread; and the guilds of artisans gave five *vīsa*s per poll of the Kuṟiba-sēṇigas, year by year, for the nūlu-festival; and the three-hundred of the caste of toddy-drawers (?) gave a handful of dried unripe fruit and a handful of ripe fruit on each basketful that they sold of ripe fruit, ..., and dried unripe fruit; and the basket-makers and mat-makers gave a flower-basket and ..., in order to maintain for ever the ... at the *maṭha*; and the groups of the kinsmen of the village-headman, headed by the Gauḍa himself, gave, as a perquisite of the god, five *vīsa*s on each marriage, no matter whether of a boy or of a girl, and two *baḷi*s year by year.

The record ends with a mandate to the people of the district and to the three-hundred of the caste of toddy-drawers, to preserve this act of religion.

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[10] By J.F. Fleet.

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[23]

Golihalli, Khanapur Tk, Belgaum Dt.
KI, V, 64. AD 1173.

[ll.1–35] [Building of a temple by the Kadamba chief Vīrapermāḍidēva.]

[ll.36-51] *svasti śrī manmahāmahēśvararaṁ kādamba śivacitta śrī vīra permmāḍi dēva varshada 17neya svabhānu saṁvatsarada mārgaśīra bahuḷa paṁcami sōmavaradaṁdu śrīmad āyyavoḷeyaynūrvva svāmigaḷu mukhyavāgi*

piriyagobbūra sthaḷadavarum kuṇilageṟeya sthaḷadavaruṁ sēḍiṁbada sthaḷadavaruṁ polavaseya sthaḷadavaruṁ purigeṟeya sthaḷadavarum lokkiguṇḍiya sthaḷadavarum hauṁgallanāḍa sthaḷadavarum māruḍigeya sthaḷadavarum gaṁgāpurada sthaḷadavarum eraṁbarageya sthaḷadavarum intu nānā sthaḷada mummuridaṁḍaṁgaḷum mūvattāṟu bīḍugaḷa seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ bīraruṁ bīravaṇigaruṁ gavaṟegaḷum gavaṟe gātrigaruṁ intu samasta nānādēśigaḷu

halasige nāḍoḷagaṇa kiṟusaṁpagāḍiya sthaḷada seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ aṟuvattokkalugaḷaṁ intubhaya nānādēśiyu śrotriyadēvarappa śaktiśivadēvara pādapraksḥāḷanaṁ māḍi uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti sōmagrahaṇa nimittavāgi dhārāpūrvam=ācaṁdrārkkasthāyiyāgi aḷate tūka eṇike viḷasapaḍi intāva bhaṇḍaṁ māṟedaḍaṁ māṟedavaru hoṁge arevīsa ... ru intī dharmmaṁ mahānāḍāgirddu tāṁbraśāsanavāgi koṭṭaru.

intī dharmmanāva .. tipāḷisidavage gaṁge gaye kurukshētra prayāge yeṁba puṇyatīrtthaṁgaḷalu kaṭṭisi [Imprecation]

[ll. 52-55] *mattaṁ śrī kādaṁba śivacittaṁ śrīvīrapermmaḍidēva varshada 5neya nandana saṁvatsara māghamāsa śuddha daśami bṛihaspativāradandu kiṟusaṁpagāḍiyal aśēsha mahānāḍāgi nālku paṭṭaṇada seṭṭiguttaruṁ mummuriḍaṁḍaṁgaḷa nānādēśiyumirddu śrīsōmēśvaradēvargge ettu katte kōṇa neṁbivaṟalāva bhaṇḍama hēṟidaḍirppattakkaṁ caṁdrārkka sthāyiyāgi suṁkamaṁ sarvvabādhā parihāramāgi biṭṭaru.*

[24]

Terdal, Jamkhandi Tk, Bijapur Dt.
KI, V, 98. AD 1181.

[ll.1–2] *śvasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁcaśata vīraśāsana labdānēka guṇagaṇāḷamkṛita satya śaucācāra cārucāritra nayavinaya vijñāna vīrabaṇaṁju dharmma pratipāḷana viśuddha guḍḍadhvaja virājitānēkasāhasa lakshmī samāliṁgita vakshastaḷa bhuvana parākramōnnataruṁ mukhapaṭṭigarūtpatti baladēva vāsudēva khaṇḍaḷi mūḷabhadra vaṁśodbhavaruṁ padmāvatīdēvi labda varaprasādarum appa*

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[ll.3–4] *śrīmad ayyavaḷeyaynūrvva svāmigaḷu kuntaḷavishayadoḷu grāma nagara khēḍa karvvaḍa maḍamba drōṇāmukhi pattaṇaṁgaḷiṁdam anēka māṭa kūṭa prāsāda dēvāyatanaṁgaḷiṁdam oppuvagrahāra paṭṭaṇaṁgaḷiṁdam atiśayavappa śrīmatu koṁḍi mūṟu sāsiradoḷage hanneraḍakkaṁ modalabāḍaṁ baṇaṁjupaṭṭaṇaṁ naḍaveyamane tēridāḷadalu sakavarsha 1104 neya plava saṁvatsarada āśvayuja bahuḷa 3 ādivāradalu*

[ll.5–6] *dvātriṁsatu vēḷāvuramuṁ mashṭādaśa paṭṭaṇamuṁ causashṭi yōgapīṭhamuṁ maṟuvattanālku ghaṭikasthanamuṁ nānādēśābhyantarada gavaṟe gātrigarum seṭṭiyaruṁ seṭṭiguttaruṁ mahānāḍāgi nered āsthaḷadalu śrīmanmaṁṇḍaḷikaṁ goṁkadēvarasaṁ māḍisida nēmitīrtthēśvarana caityālamaṁ kaṇḍu balaṁgoṇḍu poḍavaṭṭu harshacittarāgi dēvarashṭavidhārcane caṁdrārkkatāraṁbara naḍavantāgi koṭṭa śāsanamaryāde yenteṁdoḍe*

[ll.7–9] *catussamudraparyyantaṁ baram naḍavantāgi 120 nūṟippattettu kattekōṇa bhaṇḍi bhaitra dōṇi durggi galapathameṁbivaṟoḷu ānemāṇika vastuvēnanādaḍaṁ pēṟi jaḷasthaḷa yātrayalu naḍevaḍaṁ suṁkaparihāravāgi koṭṭaru mattaṁ śāsana parihārigarennade pokkalendu paṇavaṁ biṭṭaru*

yintīkeyi mane tōṭa mukhya samasta āyadvāyamallavaṁ sarvvabādhā parihāravāgi dhārāpūrvvakaṁ māḍi biṭṭaru.

Summary

The record registers a gift of income from the sale of merchandise and other money-incomes by the Five hundred of Ayyāvoḷe, the *gavares*, *gātrigas*, *seṭṭis* and *seṭṭiguttas* who had assembled at Tēridāḷa as a *mahānāḍu*, to the *chaityālaya* built by *maṇḍalika* Goṇkadēvarasa. Tēridaḷa is described as *baṇanjuvaṭṭaṇa* and *naḍaveyamane* of a unit of twelve villages in Kuṇḍi-3000 division.

[25]

Sirasangi, Saundatti Tk, Belgaum Dt.
KI, I, pp. 38–51. Hoysala Vira-Somesvara IV. AD 1186.

[A Hebbeya Nāyaka builds two temples and some *gāvuṇḍas* gift land. The Ayyāvoḷe also join them by contributing some levies on mercandise.]

[ll.83–93] *svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta paṁcaśata vīraśāsana labdhānēka guṇa gaṇāḷaṁkṛita satya śaucācāru cāritra nayavinayaruṁ baladēvavāsudēva khaṁḍaḷī mūḷabhadra vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ bhagavatī dēvi labda vara-prasādarumappa śrīmadayyāvoḷiyaynūrbba svāmigaḷu mukhya*

śrīmatu sameya cakravartti jayamoyya seṭṭiyaruṁ sōviseṭṭiyaruṁ mukhya eraḍaṟunūṟaṟeṁṭuṁ paṭṭaṇada seṭṭiguttaruṁ sthaḷa samasta

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mummuridaṁḍaṁgaḷuṁ kūḍi mūṟu sāsirada nālkuṁ paṭṭaṇada seṭṭiguttaruṁ samasta vubhaya nānādēśigaḷuṁ birudaruṁ bīravaṇigaruṁ gavaṟegaḷuṁ gātrigaruvayvattokkaluṁ samasta nakharaṁgaḷuṁ hirisiṁgiyalu śrīmatu habbēśvaradēvara dēvāyatanadoḷaśēśaṁ bayisaṇigeyāgirddu

yā habbēśvaradēvara dēvakāryyavāgi yalliyācāryyaṁ vāmaśaktidēvarige dhārāpūrbbakaṁ māḍi yā puṁṇyadinadoḷu āvaṁci paṁcavaṇnige yaḍake meḷasu dhāṁnyavargavanēna hēṟidaḍam sarvva bādhe parihāravāgi catus-samudra paryyaṁta naḍuvaṁtu biṭṭa ettaṟu matta aydu

mattavadinaṁ hirisiṁgiya nakharaṁgaḷā habbēśvaradēvara caitradaparvvakke pratyēkavaṁgaḍige biṭṭa hāgavoṁdu pavitrārōpaṇada parvvakke pratyēka vaṁgaḍige biṭṭa hāgavaṁdu

yā sthaḷadoḷage baṁda dēvadavasayaṟukāṟaralli yā dēvara dēvakāryake biṭṭa voṭṭaliṁge bhatta baḷḷavoṁdu hēriṁge bhattavaravana. vā dēvara vīḷeya naḍevaṁtu baṁda gātrigaralu biṭṭa ele hēriṁge nūṟu hoṟē gayvattu yalliyayvattokkalugaḷā dēvara naṁdādīvige naḍevaṁtāgi gāṇamgaḷanitoḍavanitaṟaluṁ hoyva gāṇagaḷalu pratyēka nōḍikoṁbaṁtāgi biṭṭa dhāreṁṇne yadda soḷasa. iṁtī dharmmaman aṟuvarggāvuṁḍugaḷ aṟuvaṇamanereya mattariṁge haṇavoṁdu haraḷa mattariṁge yaḍḍavaṁ māḍitakke nōḍikoṁḍu svadharmmadiṁ pratipāḷiparu.

svasti samasta praśasti sahitaṁ śrīmanmahāvaḍḍabyavahāri sirikumāra nāyakaruṁ ravināyakaruṁ kāṭūranāyakaruṁ baḷḷāranāyakaruṁ saṁgināyakaru rāmadēvanāyakaru paḍapanāyakaru maṇavāḷaseṭṭi eḷinaṁbiseṭṭi maleyacaseṭṭi koṁḍanaṁbiseṭṭi mukhya

samasta lāḷamaleyāḷa nānādēsigaḷu hirisiṁgiyalu mahānāḍāgi kuḷḷirddu dēsiyahiriya bīravaṇigaruṁ habbeyanāyaka pratishṭhisida habbēśvaradēvara dēvakāryyakke kudurege pratyēka biṭṭa hāgavoṁdu.

[ll.93–100] [Long imprecation.]

Summary

(ll.83–91) describe the several trade guilds who assembled in Hirisinge at the temple as *bayisaṇige* and exempted for all times to come, the levy of taxes on the loads of provisions to be carried by sixty-five oxen. The Nakharas also gave a specified money and articles of worship for conducting the festival of *chaitra* and *pavitra* in the Habbēśvara temple. The following merchant guilds are mentioned:- The five hundred Svāmins of Ayyāhoḷe (their lineage and deities described), the Seṭṭis, the Seṭṭiguttas of the eight towns in the two six-hundred districts, the Mummuṟidaṇḍas of all the places, the Seṭṭiguttas of the three thousand and four towns, all the Ubhaya-Nānādēsigaḷ, Birudas, Bīravaṇigas, Gavaṟes, Gātrigas, the fifty *okkals* and the Nakharas.

(ll.91–93) a gift of one *hāga* on each horse-load is registered for the Habbēśvara

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temple of Bīravaṇiga-Habbeya-Nāyaka, by the nānādēśa merchants of Lāḷa and Maleyāḷa, headed by Mahāvaḍḍa-Vyavahāri Siri Kumāra-Nāyaka, Ravi-Nāyaka and other Nāyakas, Maṇavāḷa-śeṭṭi, Eḷanaṁbi-śeṭṭi, Maleyacha-śeṭṭi and Koṇḍandaṁbiśeṭṭi who had assembled at Hirisingi as Mahānāḍu.

[26]

Tirukkannapuram, Nannilam Tk, Thanjavur Dt. Saurirajaperumal temple. *ARE*, 1922, 505. Chola Kulottunga III, AD 1189.

svasti śrī tribhuvanac cakravattikaḷ maturaiyum īḻamuṁ koṇṭaruḷiya śrī kulōttuṅka cōḻatēvaṟku yāṇṭu 10āvatu

tirukkaṇṇapurattuc cavuripperumāḷ tirumaṭaiviḷākattu vaṭakkil tiruvītiyil vaṭakīḻai mūlaiyil sūcakar karuṇākara vīra maṭattut tirunāḷkaḷtōṟum śivaishṇavarkaḷai amutu ceyvikkavum maṭamaḻivu cōrntu kaṭṭi meyyum maṭapatiyāyiruppāṉoruvaṉukku vēṇṭum jīvanattukku eṅkaḷinattiluḷḷār munpu variyiṭṭuc ceytu ikkōyilile kalveṭṭumuṇṭāy itu aḻikaiyil

tirunīṟṟuc cōḻapurattu nakaramuḷḷiṭṭa ūrkaḷil sūcakar karuṇākara vīrar āḷiraṇṭu kācu iṭakkaṭavatākavum ippaṭi cantirātittavarai celvatāka kalveṭṭuvittōm karuṇakara vīra tennilaṅkai vaḷañciyarōm

[27]

Padaviya near Hattipola, Kurunegala Dt, Sri Lanka.
CTI, I, pp. 54–55. & plate. *CTI*, II, pp. 19–20. c. AD 1200.

Part I[11]

[ll.1–5] *samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsana laksaṇālamkṛita vakshastala bhuvana parākrama śrī vāsudēva kaṇṭaḷi mūlapatrōrbhava śrī aiyapoḻilpura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya*

[ll.5–22] *matiṟōy neṭuṅkoṭi māṭavīti patineṭṭu paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷāpuramum aṟupattunāṉku kaṭikait tāvaḷamum tāvaḷattiruntu samayataṉmai iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭi puttiraṉuṁ kavaṟaiyuṁ kātrivaṉuṁ kāmuṇṭasvāmiyu...m uḷpacumpaikāṟaṉum...m palataiyum... ṭayum...ḻānum ci ... yum ciṅkamum pāpuli ciṅkamum ...ḷ.ṇiṟum...ṭi...nuñarāvānum mā...vaiyum aṅkakkāṟaṉu māvaṇakkāṟaṉum...koṅkavāṉ munūṟum koṟṟakkuṭaip paṉmai munnūṟum...vitta parātaka vīra...āti.....ṭum vaṭataḷi naṅkai vīrarum...vāriyaṉum kaḻutaiyum kaḻutaimē...muḷḷiṭṭu aṟam vaḷarak*

[11] The text of Part I is a new transcription made by Y. Subbarayalu from the accompanying plate illustrating the inkcopy of the inscription, as the text given by the editor, A. Veluppillai, is full of gaps and inaccuracies.

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kali meliya pukaḷ peruka ticai aṉaittum ceviṭupaṭāmal ceṅkōlē muṉṉāka samaya taṉmai iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa patineṇpūmi tēcitticaiyāyiratt aññūṟṟuvark kuṟaivaṟak kūṭi

[ll.22–31] *...ṉāṭṭuc ceṭṭi aṉantaṉ araṅkaṉuṉ tēci vaḷarkka vaḷarkiṟa tōṉṟik kāḷikaṇa valaṅkaip perumpaṭai piḷḷai nāṭṭucceṭṭiyāṉa ...mum...ceṭṭi uttamacōḻaṉāna ...ceṭṭi v...yāparaṇa valaṅkaiyāra...nāṭṭucceṭṭiyum...ṟaiyāṉa vīrakaḷ cōṟuṭai nāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyum caṅkiṟā...yāṉa tēci vaḷarkka vaḷarkiṟa tēci matavāraṇa...ṉṉaiyār tēcic cakkaramāṉa mata vāraṇamum nakkan perumaṉāna tēci aṅkakkāṟanum*

Part II[12]

[ll.1–25] [Reading not clear.]

[ll.25–29] *patiyāru mayam poḻil paṭṭinattu ticai vikkirama kaṭikait tāvaḷam uḷḷiṭṭu ippaṭṭanattu*

[ll.30–37] [Not clear.]

[l.38–41] *nāypiṇam āvatuvum ... ṭuttavar niṟkka .... vikkiraṅ ceytu kuṭuttōm ... vīrakoṭiyōm aṟamaṟavaṟka*

[ll.41–45] [Some signatories?]

[28]

Vahalkada, Anuradhapura Dt, Sri Lanka.
CTI, I, pp. 53–54 & plate; *CTI*, II, pp. 7–8. c. AD 1200.

Part I[13].

[ll.1–7] *samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsana lakshmilamkṛita vakshastala bhuvaniparākrama śrī vāsudēva gaṇḍaḷi mūlabhatrōtbhava śrī aiyyapoḻiṟpura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya veyya cuṭar neṭuvēl vīra vaḷañceyar matitōy neṭuṅkoṭi māṭavīti patineṭṭu paṭṭanamum muppattiraṇṭu vēḷāpuramum aṟupattunāṉku kaṭikait tāvaḷamum tāvaḷattiṟ taṟma*

[ll.8-13] *vaḷaṟkiṉṟa ceṭṭiyum ceṭṭiputtiranu kavaṟai kātrivanum kāmuṇṭa svāmiyum aṅkakāraṇum āvaṇakkāraṇum mañciyum .ṟum rāvattu...yum koṅkavāḷar munnūṟum koṟṟakkuṭaip panmai munnūṟum..ka...ṇṭi aṟam vaḷara*

[12] The following lines published as a separate inscription (A. Veluppillai, *CTI*, II, pp. 19–20, ll.1–45) seem to be the continuation of the above inscription.

[13] The text of Part I is a new transcription made by Y. Subbarayalu from the accompanying plate illustrating the inkcopy of the inscription, as the text given by the editor, A. Veluppillai, is full of gaps and inaccuracies.

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kali meliya ceṅkōlē munnāka camaiyatanmai initu naṭāttukiṉṟa patineṇpūmi tēci ticaiyāyirattaññūṟṟuvar [kaṭṭiruṭṭāṉa]

[ll.14-33] *ōlaippurattu veṭṭi vāḷiṟakkina patineṇpūmi nāṭṭuc ceṭṭit...tēciy maṇṭai aḻakiya maṇavāḷanārāṉa mūṉṟu taramalaikkalaṅkāta kaṇṭa nāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyārāna tēcikku oṉṉātārai veṭṭuñ ceṭṭiyārum peṟṟān vītiviṭaṅka nāṉātēci aṭaikkala nāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyum vēḷāṉ ampalakkūttanāna vīrakaḷ janavārappiḷḷai nāṭṭucceṭṭiyārum tēvaṇṭaiyāṉārāna vīrakaḷ cēṉāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyārum ceṭṭi tēvanāna munṟutaram tiṉ kalaṅkāta kaṇṭa aññūṟṟuvāṇṭānāna vīrakaḷum cōṟuṭai appanum aṟiñci kuḻaiñcānāna māntai toḻākkātan kaṉattār paṭṭavaṟtanamum kaṇṭan apaiyamāna nūṟāyirat tacamaṭi vīrakaḷ cēnāpati āṇṭānum ceṅkaṇmālārāna tēcippiccanum vītirācanāna vīrakaḷ iḷaviyāṉaiyum talaitalakaḷan tēcip paṭṭavaṟtanamum kaṇṭaṉ jayaṅkoṇṭānāna maṭikaiyāṇṭāṉum cēntan etirāḷan mallanāna tēci matavāraṇamum cāttan cāttanāṉa vaḷañceyar cēṉāpati vaḷañceyāṇṭānum koṇan mātavanāṉa valaṅkaiyāṇḍānum paṭṭālakaṉ tēvanāna tēci mummatakaḷiṟum vīraṉ.iṟṟacanan tēci caṟācalakanum akkacālai vikkiṟamātittaṉāna māntai iḷañciṅkamum kaṇavati cōḻanāna [āviṭṭu] muṟiyāṉum*

[kā]ṭṭanēriyāna nāṉātēciya vīrapaṭṭaṉamākaiyum tēcippakai kūttiṉ

[ll.34-36] *perumāḷukku uttaram kuṭuttum taṇṭam iṟuttut taṉṟāci paṭṭamaiyil patineṇpūmi nāṭṭuc ceṭṭikaḷum vīrakoṭiyōmum ippaṭṭaṇam aḻivu paṭalākāteṉṟu vāḷmuṟai iṭṭa mukk...*

Part II[14]

[ll.1-6] *ḷum ippaṭṭiṉattu vīrakaḻalāṉeṉa tāpaṉamum malka taṅkaḷ uru-vamāyāvatākavum periya kaṭaiyam koḷḷārākavum...*

[ll.7–18] *... ... ṭṭaiyam veṇṭamai pīṭum cīrumāyavum uṭaiyam nām paṭṭiṉamāvatāka ciramēlaka ceytu kallum palakaiyum nāṭṭiṉōm patiṉeṇpūmi vīrakoṭiyōm aṟamaṟavaṟka.*

Summary

The 18-*būmi-nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*s and the 18-*būmi-vīrakoḍi*s took oath to protect the town Kāṭṭanēri as it was a *nānādēsi vīra-paṭṭaṇam*.

[14] The following lines published as a separate inscription (A. Veluppillai, *CTI*, II, pp. 7–8, ll.1–18) seem to be the continuation of the above inscription.

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[29]

Nattam (Koyilpatti), Nattam Tk, Madurai (Dindigal) Dt.
Avanam, 3, pp. 35–36. c. AD 1200.

I side

[ll.1–11] *svasti śrī bhuvanāśraya pañcasata śāsana laksaṇa lakshmi vaksastala bhuvana parākrama śrī vāsudēva ka[ṇḍaḷi] mūlabhatrōṟbava srī ayyapoḷil pura paramēśvari makkaḷāki śrīdēviyē tuṇaivarāki aṟam vaḷarak kalipeyara tikkaṉaittum peytu ceṅkōlē muṉṉākavum samasta rācciyattu maṇṭalattu samaiya taṉmai iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa*

[ll.11–17] *tuvarāpati nāṭṭu eṟipaṭainallūr nāṉātēciyaḷ aṟaneṟi aññūṟṟuvan kāvaṇattil kūṭi niraviya nāṉkuticaip patineṇbhūmi tēcit ticai viḷaṅ ku ticaiyāyirattañññūṟṟuvarum palamaṇṭalaṅkaḷil ṉāṭṭuc ceṭṭikaḷum taṉma c ceṭṭikaḷum*

[ll.17–27] *patiṉṉeṇbhūmi vīrakoṭiyāril cempiyaṉ cēṉāpati yāṇṭā ṉum vaikunta nāṭāḷvāṉāna valaṅkai vīrakaṅkai piḷḷaiyum irācātirāca valaṅkai nappo*

II side

ṟpatiyum eḻu...ṟanum ko...upaiyamā ittaḷattil ti... ññūṟṟuvarum tuvarāpati vēḷā...puttiraṉārum

[ll.27–38] *aḻakiya pāṇṭiyap paṭaiyā.....rai vīrakkoṭiyārai nōkkip puravu ceytamayil pāṇṭittaraiyaṉum tāṉ vīra ...kallu nāṭṭi kalmēl ceytapaṭi ṉāpati...nāṭāṉukku vaḻivakai...ṭṭālē...ittu ikkal...ne uṇṇakkaṭa... ...kku...epperppaṭṭatum patinne...ra...ceyyakkaṭava... ḷañ ceytōm*

[ll.38–45] *tēcivalla...yirattañnūṟṟuvarōm inniravi pu...kaiyviṉā muṟaiyālum palamaṇṭala vāriyar kaiviṉā muṟaiyālum kalnāṭṭik kuṭuttōm inniravittiyai... ṟṟūvarum pala maṇṭalaṅkaḷil nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḷum patiṉeṇ būmi vīrak koṭiyōm niraviṭai veḷaikkāṟaṉ nāṉātēciyat tāṉai ceṭṭi eḻuttu.*

Summary

Damaged. Relates to the planting of foundation stone of *vīrataḷam* by the 18-*būmi-vīrakoḍi* of the town called Eṟipaḍai-nallūr in honour of some fellow warriors who did some heroic feats to protect them.

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[30]

Valikandapuram, Perambalur Tk, Tiruchirappalli Dt.
ARE, 1943-44, 264. Chola Kulottunga III, AD 1207.

svasti śrī tiripuvaṉac cakkraravattikaḷ maturaiyum pāṇṭiyaṉ muṭittalaiyum koṇṭaruḷiya śrī kulōttuṅka cōḻadevaṟku yāṇṭu 29

vaṭakarai karikālakanna vaḷaṉāṭṭu vannāṭṭu vālikaṇṭapurattu uṭaiyār tiruvālīcuramuṭaiyaṉāyanāṟkup patiṉeṇpūmikkuc camainta vīra cōḻa nallūr vāṇiya nakarattōmum ipatineṇpūmi vāṇiya nakarattōmum aṭikkīḻtaḷamāṉa āṟakaḷūr vāṇiya nakarattōmum iṉṉāyaṉāṟkku cantit tiruviḷakku vaittuk kututta paricāvatu

iṉṉāyaṉār kōyil eṅkaḷukku ṉakarak kāṇiyākaiyālē ṉāṅkaḷ uṟattūr śrī kaiyilāsamuṭaiya ṉāyaṉār kōyilil taṉmatāvaḷaṉ tirukkāvaṇattilē niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟak kūṭip patiṉeṇpūmi vāṇiya ṉakarattōmum iruntu

inta vālikaṇṭapurattu iṭṭut tirikkiṟa cekku oṉṟum iccekku oṉṟum irupatteṭṭāvatu mutal uṭaiyār tiruvāliśvaramuṭaiya ṉāyaṉaṟkuc cantit tiruviḷakkerippatākavum erikkumiṭattu iccekku oṉṟukku nūṟṟu nāḻi eḻ eṇṇaikku iraṭṭiyāl vanta ney irunūṟṟu nāḻikku nāḻ oṉṟukku viḷakku irupattēḻu tiruviḷakkerippatākavum

āṭṭaikkuc ciṟappukku nūṟṟuṉāṟpattaiñcu tiruviḷakkerippatākavum erikkumiṭattu cantirātittavaraiyum erikka kaṭavatākavum

inta cekkoṉṟāl vanta eṇṇaiyum ivvūr vāṇiyakkuṭi makkaḷāl vanta amañciyum nāṭṭil vāṇiyar pakkalē eṇṇaittāṅkaḷ paṟṟup piṭittār āṇṭukoḷḷak kaṭavar

makkaḷ ciṟappāka ivvūril putātoḻiyak kaṭavarkaḷākavum ivvūr cūra taḷamāvutākavum ivvūr vāṇiyar vāṇavataraiyaṟkuc ceyyum amañciyāl vantatum cūrataḷattāl vantatuṅ koṇṭu iṉṉāyaṉāṟku nāṭṭu vāṇiyar iṭṭa tiruttēr aḻivu cōrntu nōkkak kaṭavarkaḷākavum

ippaṭi oru kālāvatum irukālāvatum mukkālāvatum cammatittu tirukkaṟṟaḷiyilē kalveṭṭik kuṭuttōm ittaṉmattukku aḻivu niṉaittār uṇṭākil nammiloruvarallarākap puṟaku taṭṭi nāyilum paṉṟiyilu moṉṟākak kuttit tūkkak kaṭavatākavum ippaṭi cammatittu kalveṭṭikk kuṭuttōm patineṇpūmi vāṇiya nakarattōmum aṭikkīḻttaḷam āṟakaḷūr vāṇiya nakarattōmum patiṉeṇpūmikkuc camainta vīracōḻa nallūr vāṇiya nakarattōmum ittanmam nōkkuvār śrī pātaṅkaḷ eṅkaḷ talaimēṟ koṇṭōm itu paṉmāhēśvara rakshai.

[31]

Anbil, Lalgudi Tk, Tiruchirappalli Dt.
SII, VIII, 198. AD 1235.

svasti śrī uttamanidi uyarperuṅkīrtti muttamiḻmālai muḻumaiyu niranda cittiramēḻip-periyanāṭṭōmum nāṅgudicaip padiṉeṇbūmit tēcit ticaiviḷaṅgu ticai

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āyirattaiññūṟṟuvarōmum

palamaṇḍalattu nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḷ tava[ḷa]cceṭṭikaḷ jayapālarkaḷum nammakkaḷaṟupattunālu muṉaiyu muṉaivīrakoṭiyārum pēraruñciṟapparum ciṟappuṭaik kalaṉaiyārum kōlak kārār kaṟpakakkāvil niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟakkūṭi yirunta rājarājap peruniraviyōm

tiripuvaṉac cakkaravattikaḷ śrī rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇṭu pattoṉpatāvatu kumbhanāyaṟṟu pūrvapakshattu pañcamiyum viyāḻakkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa rēvati nāḷ nammilicaintu vyavasthai paṇṇiṉapaṭi

rājarājavaḷanāṭṭu poykaināṭṭut tiruviṭaikkuṭi amutamoḻip perumpaḷḷikku ivviṭaikkuṭi ūraṭaṅkalu muṉpu rāja ... yamāy niṉṟa nāḷvaraiyum iṟai ... ṉṟu pūjaiyum tiruppaṇiyu ... celuttippōnta ...

[32]

Tittandatanapuram, Ramnad Dt. Siva temple.
ARE, 1926, 598. Pandya Vira Pandya, AD 1269.

—uṭaiyār sarvvataṇḍa muṭaiyār tirumalai ceyvitta tirumalai mātākkaḷ aracūruṭaiyāṉ villiyāḻvāṉ tiruvampalamuṭaiyāṉ—tirumaṇṭapam— tirukkaṟṟaḷi — āḻvārkku

kāriyañceykiṉṟa iraṇiyamuṭṭu nāṭṭuc ciṟutūruṭaiyāṉ perumāḷ irārātēvaṉāṉa teṉṉavataraiyaṉ ivvūril irukkiṟa [añcu]vaṇṇam maṇikiāmattōmum patiṉeṇvishaiyatōrum

ittirumalai mātākkaḷāna aracūruṭaiyārāṉa tiruampalamuṭaiyārum ivvūril irukkiṟa añcuvaṇṇam maṇikkirāmattōmum āriyaril cāmāṉta paṇṭacāliyum aycarum kuṭutta mukamaḻakiyāṉ perunteruvil kuṭimakkaḷum paṭṭarāriyarum tōyāvattirac ceṭṭikaḷum teṉṉilaṅkai vaḷañciyarum kaikkōḷarum tūcuvarum vāṇiyarum niṇṭakaraiyārum kūṭi

ināyaṉār kōyil tirukkāmak kōṭṭa—tiru muṉpē niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟak kūṭi yiruntu niccayitu utakam paṇṇiṉapaṭi iṉṉāyaṉār tiruvellai vaṭṭattu parimāṟumavaiyiṟṟil aḷappaṉa viripaṉa maṭippaṉa aḻukal carakku uḷḷiṭṭavaiyiṟṟukku ivvaṉaivōmum vaittuk kuṭutta paṭi accu oṉṟukku uḷtalai piṟatalai kūṭṭi nellu nāḻiyum arici uriyum maṟṟu viṟkumavaiyiṟṟukku accukku oru kācu koḷḷakkaṭavatākavum ippaṭi cantirātittavara nāḷ patiṉoṉṟāvatu—

[33]

Avur, Tiruvannamalai Tk, North Arcot Dt. Ruined Siva temple.
SII, XII, 236. Kopperunjingadeva, AD 1272.

svasti śrī cakalapuvaṉa cakkaravattikaḷ śrī kōpperuñciṅgatēvarkku yāṇṭu 30 āvatu nāyaṉār cūrāṇṭārāṉa ceyacēvakañ cētiyarāyar nāḷil

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śrīmaṟ cṉma mahāpōti naṉtapat taṉmē vaṇikarām nāmavaiciya taṉmatāvaḷa sahajaṉa tāritriya niṟkaṇṭa sarvaguṇa sampaṉṉa ālaṅkeṉapaṟamarāpati bhujamiku parākrama śrī garuḍatveś tarumāpuri vairāvana cātiyṟ vaḷara kalimeliyap pukaḷ peruka pakaipaṇiya

ticai aṉaittum ceviṭupaṭāmaṟ ceṅgōle muṉṉākavum ciyācciṉaiyē teyvamākavum yiṉitu naṭātti nikaḷā niṉṟa patiṉeṇ bhūmi ticai viḷaṅgu tiṟalāyirattu tikaḷ vaṇikarōm

peṇṇai vaṭakarai cēti maṇṭalattu āvūr uṭaiyār tiruvakattīśuram uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku tula nāyaṟṟu pūrva pakshattu pañcamiyum viyāḻakk kiḻamaiyum mūlamum peṟṟa nāḷ iṉṉāyanārkku astradēvarai. [Incomplete].

[34]

Kistnapatnam, Gudur Tk, Nellore Dt. Siddhesvarasvami temple, South wall.
ARE, 1963-64, 78; *NI*, Gudur-45, p. 417. AD 1279.

svasti śrī cakaraiyāṇṭu 1201 cellā niṉṟa tiripuvaṉac cakka ravattikaḷ śrī irumaṭi tirukkāḷattitēvarkku yāṇṭu 2vatu

kollittuṟaiyāṉa kaṇṭakōpāla paṭṭiṉattu nāṭu nakara malaimaṇṭalam añcuvaṇṇa vaṇikarum patineṇpūmi samasta paradēsikaḷum ivvaṉaivōm aiññūṟṟuvaṉ tirukkāvaṇattu niṟaintu iruntu ceytapaṭi

mīṉa nāyaṟṟu pūrva pakshattu daśamiyum caṉikkiḻamaiyumāṉa rōhiṇi nāḷ ivvūril uṭaiyār manumasiddhiśvaram uṭaiya nāyaṉārkku tiruppaṇi amutupaṭi cāttuppaṭi uḷḷiṭṭaṉavaiyiṟṟukku uṭalāka vaittuk koṭutta

ivvūrt tuṟaiyil ēṟu carakku iṟaṅku carakkukaḷ matikkumiṭattu nūṟṟukkuk kāl vaittuk kuṭuttōm innūṟṟukkuk kālum innāyaṉārkku cantrādidyavarai cellakkaṭavatāka vaittukkuṭuttōmm

nāṭu nakaram malaimaṇṭalam aiñcuvaṇṇa vaṇikarum nānādēsip patiṉeṇbhūmis samasta paradēsikaḷ ivvaṉaivōm itu śrī māhēśvara rakshai.

[35]

Sarkar Periyapalayam, Perundurai Tk, Erode Dt. Siva temple.
Avanam, 6 (1995), pp. 36-40. AD 1289.

[ll.1–5] *svasti śrī suntarapāṇḍya tēvaṟku yāṇṭu 4 vatu svasti śrī pañcacata vīracātana milakshaṇē lakshmīvakshastalē śrī vāsutēvacakāya kaṇṭaḷi mūlapattirōrpava meṉa śrī ayapoḻiṟpura paramēśvarikkum paṭṭārakikkum śrī pakavatikkum pūmitēvikkum putrarāki nikaḷāniṉṟa teṉtamiḻ vaṭakalai terintuṇantu nīti cāttira nipuṇarā yiṉcollā liṉituraittu vaṉcollāl maṟaṅkaṭintu camattārāki palamaṇṭalattu cantrādittavarai taḻaittōṅki intrāti tēvarkaḷiniturattu vātarācaṉ kāṟṟacaippa varuṇarācaṉ nīṟṟeḻippat tēvarāṉa*

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patameṉṉat tiruvuṭaṉē viḷaṅkāniṉṟa cakala kuṇa campannrāki nīti uttamakuṇa paṇṭitarkaḷāccamaiyattu vaḷarkiṉṟa imaiyyapēr malaiy ēḻkaṭalaḷavaiyuṭutta eṭuttāyil eṇṭicaiyumuḷḷa talampuka mantaṉayāḷā

nāvalaṉ tīveṉṉu naṉṉāṭar poṉṉim pūmpukār tiruvārūr pukaḻpaṭalam koṭuṅkōḷūr nām pukaḻum tiruppaṭamum eḻilpāccil paṭṭa...yar marrumeṇ paṭṭapatiyaṉaittum viruppuṭaṉ viḷaṅkuvittōr piṉṉiraṇṭu moḻiyāta paṉṉiraṇṭu nakaramivai paḻacākap paṭaiyōr koṅkiloṉpatu mānakaraṅkaḷ kuṭi koṇṭaṅkinituraittu

tēvar pati taṭṭōṅku māṭa vītip patineṭṭu paṭṭaṇamum muppattireṇṭu vēḷāpuramu maṟupattiṉāṉku kaṭikait tāvaḷamun tāvaḷattiliruntu taṉmai vaḷarkkum ceṭṭiyuñ ceṭṭivīraputtirarkaḷum malaimaṇṭalattu palanakaraṅkaḷum nāṉkuticaip patineṇvishaiyattōmum patineṇvishaiyam peruniraviyārōmun ticaiyāyirataññūṟṟuvarōmum aññūṟṟuvaṉ peruniraviyārōmum eṅkuḷḷa nāṭṭuc ceṭṭit taḷam ceṭṭikaḷ

[ll.5–9] *nam makkaḷ aṟupattu nāṉku muṉaiyum muṉai-vīrakkoṭiyārōmum ceṅkōlē muṉṉākavum cempoṟ pacumpaiyē teyvamākavuñ citti-ramēḻiyēṭuṇaiyākavum kīḻppāl aynnūṟṟuvaṉ peruṅkāvil kuṟaivaṟakkūṭi niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu icaiyappēci emmilicaintu amaiyac ceyta camaiya taṉma kāriyamāvatu mācimātam mutal vīracōḻa vaḷanāṭṭu mukuntaṉūr āḷuṭaiyār tirukkurakkuttaḷi āḷuṭaiyaṉāyināṟku vaikācit tirunāḷ eḻuntaruḷivippatāka paṭṭiṇappakuti kaṭṭikkuṭutta paricāvatu*

nāṉkuticai yēṟucāttu iṟaṅkucāttu naṭakkum carakkukkaḷukku mika poti oṉṟukkup paṇam oru māvum puṭavaik kaṭṭu oṉṟukkum paṇam iraṇṭumāvum nūlpoti oṉṟukkup paṇam iraṇṭu māvum pākkup poti oṉṟukku paṇam araimāvum pacumpaiyoṉṟukkup paṇamarai māvum kaḻutaimēl varum paṇṭaṅkaḷukku...rp...yaḷakkuṅ karuñcarakkukkaḷukku paṇam araimāvum tānyaṅkaḷukkuṗ paṇam kāṇiyu miṟukkum paṇṭaṅkaḷukku paṇam oru māvum āṉaikkup paṇam oṉṟum kutiraikkup paṇamaraiyuñ cantaṉakkaṭṭukku paṇanaq kālum viṭupuṭavai camakkaṭṭukkaḷukku paṇaṅ kālum cēkkaḷ kiṭākkaḷukku paṇamoru māvum marrum naṭakkum paṇṭaṅkaḷukku viḻukkāṭum māṟum meṉvakaic cuṅkam tīrum paṇṭaṅkaḷukku oṉṟukku...ḻiyāmal tīrakkaṭavatākavum

ippaṭikku vairākikaḷum camaiyakkaṇakkaṉum palavaṭṭaikaḷilum taṇṭippukunta mutal koṇṭu orukuṟaiyaṟa tirunāḷ eḻuntaruḷuvikkavum tirunāḷ eḻuntaruḷuvikkumpōtu mutaliyārum tēvarkaṉmikaḷum nāviyāṟku caṇṭēcuvara nāyiṉār tirumukam vairākikaḷ kayyilē varaviṭa...yantām iṭavakaiyum kāṭṭi ivaikaḷukkum kaṭuvatem...cca...kum na...muṉai...ṟukkumaḷavum nāḷtōṟum

[ll.9–24] *nā nāḻiyaḷappatāvum tirumuṉṉoṭukkiya tirunīrru cīpaṇṭāramum kaṟi puḷiveñcaṉaṅkaḷum paṇṭārattilē puṟappaṭak kaṭavatākavum ippaṭikku icaintu camaintu ikkaicceṭik kuccamiruttik kuṭuttōm āḷuṭaiya nāyiṉār kurakkuttaḷi āḷuṭaiya nāyiṉāṟku u.ippaṭikku itu paṉmāhēśvarakshai*

ippaṭikku patiṉeṇvishaiyap peruniraviyāril cutantarap perumāḷ eḻuttu ippaṭikku

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āṭkoṇṭa nāyakar eḻuttu ippaṭikku piḷḷai nāṭṭuc ceṭṭi eḻuttu ippaṭikku ērāḷapurattu viyāpāri kūttaṉkaṇṇa. eḻuttu

ippaṭikku uṟaiyūr uṭaiyāṉ periyayyatēvaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku ērāḷapurattu allūr uṭaiyāṉ kayilāyaṉāṉa vaṇikaimātā eḻuttu

ippaṭikku aruviyūrāṉa kalacaippāṭi uṭaiyāṉ tiruvīrāṭīcuramuṭaiyāṉ kāḷai perumāḷ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku nāvalūr uṭaiyār tirunilai aḻakiyāṉ atiraivīcāṭuvāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku tirumalaināṭṭu vāraṇavācip perunteruvil cōṉāpayaṉapurattu perumaṅkalamuṭaiyāṉ ulakaṉ uyyavantāṉ cēramāṉ tōḻaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku tiruvālūr ivaṇaṅkuṭaiyāṉ toṇṭakanāyaṉ periyyanāyaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku vaṇikairātittaṉ eḻuttu ippaṭikku tiruvālūr viyāpāri kaṭuvaṅkuṭaiyāṉ tiruaṇṇāmalaip perumāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu cuntarapāṇṭiyapurattu ciriyappiḷḷai eḻuttu

ippaṭikku veḷḷūrrāṉa kōtaṇṭarāmapurattu pālvāy uṭaiyāṉ cokkaṉār eḻuttu

ippaṭikku mīmalai irācēntiracōḻap perunteruvil avaiyāuṭaiyāṉ mātuyaran tīttāṉ cuntaiyaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku jayaṅkoṇṭa cōḻapura mutalikaip paḷḷiyuṭaiyāṉ nīrālamuṭaiyāṉ pōcivāci koṇṭāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku vikkiramacōḻapurattu māttūr uṭaiyāṉ pañcanetivāṇaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikkup pāṇṭināṭṭu cuntarapāṇṭipurattu tiruñāṉacampantaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu cīkallapura nāṭṭu kulacēkarapurattu pērilattuṭaiyāṉ cikayilāmuṭaiyāṉ antiyum pakalum āṭuvāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku ērāḷapurattu viyāpāri māṇikkaṉ puntiyil uṟaivāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku kulavāy nāṭṭu cuntarapāṇṭiyapurattu maṅkalamuṭaiyāṉ ōtātuṇarntāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu nakaram teliṅkakulakālapuramāṉa kulōttuṅkacōḻa paṭṭaṇattu veḷiyārrūr uṭaiyāṉ uttamāṇṭāṉ cokkaṉār eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu nakaram teliṅkakulakālapuramāṉa kulōttuṅkacōḻa purattu pāmpaiyaṉ uṭaiyāṉ aruḷperranampiyāṉa āṭumperumāṉ eḻuttu

ippatikku koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu veṇṇai cokkaṉāṉa aḻakiyya cokkaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku irācēntaracōḻapurattu uṭaiyāṉ poṉṉappiḷḷai eḻuttu ippaṭikku koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu taṉapālaṉ tiru...uṭaiyār eḻuttu ippaṭikku pāṇṭi maṇṭalattu netuparamuṭaiyāṉ cokkaṉār eḻuttu

ippatikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu cuntarapāṇṭiyapurattu uyyakkoṇṭāṉ periyyanāyaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku toṇṭaittumāṉār irācakōpurattu valliyūr uṭaiyāṉ kūttaṉ

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ulakutoḷaniṉṟāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku kūttaṉ uṭaiyāṉ piḷḷai tiruvāṉaṉ āṉa tiruñāṉacampantaṉ eḻuttu [***][15]

ippaṭikku tāmaraippūṇṭi uṭaiyān cūriyaṉāna campantapperumāḷ eḻuttu [***]

ippaṭikku kaṅkaikoṇṭa cōḻapurattu kōḷampākkamuṭaiyāṉ cenacuyaṉ eḻuttu [***]

ippaṭikku karuvūruṭaiyāṉ vañcimānakar tirukkāḷatti uṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku patineṇvishaiyattāril uṭaiyān tiruvāṉaikkāvuṭaiyān eḻuttu

ippaṭikku kaṭṭiyakaiyan eḻuttu ippaṭikku ampalattāṭuvār eḻuttu ippaṭikku karuppūr uṭaiyān iḷaiyān ampalattāṭuvāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku irācarāca vaḷanāṭṭu irācēntira cōḻapperunteruvil aracūruṭaiyāṉ aṭikaḷ camaiyac cakkaravatti nīlakaṇṭaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu aypoḻil vikkiramacōḻapurattu vēṇṭavaḷantān eḻuttu

ippaṭikku nīṟppaḻaniyuṭaiyāṉ atikaḷ āḻvān peruṅkaruṇaip perumāḷ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku tiripuvaṉamātēviyuṭaiyāṉ periyāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu koṭumpāḷūr tampirāṉ tōḻaṉ eḻuttu

eripaṭanallūr vaṭapātiyil cēntamaṅkaḷamuṭaiyāṉ ciyyaṉ cuntarapperumāḷ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku cuntaracēkarapuramāṉa tēci ukantapaṭṭaṇattu marutanātapuramuṭaiyāṉ cuntitēvap perumāḷ āṉa tiruviṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku veḷḷūr uṭaiyāṉ periyyāṉ cokkaṉār eḻuttu

ippaṭikku aññūṟṟuvaṉ perunirayār maṇiyya cakkaravatti eḻuttu

ippaṭikku vaṭakkilūrāṉa vīrapāṇṭiyapurattu viyāpāri cēntaṉ cēntanāna amarakōṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku uṭaiya nāyakar eḻuttu ippaṭikku katāpurattu kōṭṭaikkarai uṭaiyāṉ vaṇṇakacūriyaṉ cakkaravatti aḻakiyāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu tēciravaṇamuṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu taṉacan eḻuttu

ippaṭikku ...maṇṭalattu koṭumpāḷūr cēramāṉ tōḻaṉ eḻuttu ippaṭikku koṭumpāḷūr eḻuttu ippaṭikku koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu viyāpāri āṇṭakkaṉ cokkaṉār eḻuttu

ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu kīḻkuṇṭāṟṟu vīranārāyaṇapurattu tiru...uṭaiyāṉ araṅkuḷa...perumāḷ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku ...ḻāppaḷḷi yuṭaiyāṉ kayilaipperumāḷ malaipperumāḷ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku nīrppaḻaṉi uṭaiyāṉ aracaṉ maṇiyaṉāṉa māṟi āṭuvāṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku eḻuttu ippaṭikku pāṇṭimaṇṭalattu irācanārāyaṇapurattu tiruveḷpūr uṭaiyāṉ tēvaṉ tiru...vāṉamāmalai uṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu

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[15] The asterisk marks denote some signatures in illegible Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters.

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ippaṭikku kaṇṇaṉūruṭaiyāṉ periyāṉ amarakōṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku camaiyamantiri kaimāṭṭāmayiṉāl kaimāṭṭeṟintēṉ amarakōṉēṉ

ippāṭikku cāṅkiyam kiḻaiyāṉ aṟappittan tiru aṇṇāmalai uṭaiyāṉāṉa cūriyaṉ eḻuttu

ippaṭikku kaḷattūr kiḻavaṉ immay tiruvāṉ kaḷa...ppiḷḷai eḻuttu

ippaṭikku kaṇṇār amutaṉ kūttaṉ tēvaṉ eḻuttu ippaṭikku puḻaṅkuṭaiyāṉ cantiraṉ aḻakiyapātaṉ eḻuttu.

[36]

Tiruppangili, Lalgudi Tk, Tiruchirappalli Dt.
ARE, 1938–39, 189. AD 1295.

[ll.1–3] *svasti śrī kōmāṟapaṉmarāṉa tiripuvaṉac cakkaravattikaḷ emmaṇṭalaṅ koṇṭaruḷiya śrī kulacēkaratēvarkku yāṇṭu 27 vatu irupattēḻāvatu kumpa nāyaṟṟu a para pakshattu ēkātheśiyum veḷḷikkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa utirāṭattu nāḷ*

[ll.3–13] *śri bhūmidēviputrāṇām ayyapoḻil paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya teṉkalai vaṭakalai terintu nītikēṭṭu naṟumalar vāṭāt tirumaKaḷ piriyā mārpiṉarāki et-ticaikkum viḷakkāka iṉcollāviṉitaḷittu vaṉcollāl maṟaṅkaṭintu catussāgara [pala]maṇṭalattu canrātittavaraiyum miṉitōṅki vātarājaṉ kāṟṟacaippa varuṇarājaṉ nīṟteḻippa etticai makaḷiriṉitiruppat teṅkum palāvum tēmāṉ cōlaiyum vāḻaiyuṅ kamukum vaḷarkoṭi mullaiyum ppūvaiyuṅ kiḷḷaiyum po-livōṭuṅ kēḻum vāṭṭaminṟik kūṭṭam peruki aṟam vaḷarkka kali meliyap pakai paṇiyap pukaḷ perukac ceṅkōlē muṉṉākavuṉ citramēḻiye teyvamākavum pacumpaiyē yoḷiyākavum camaiviṉōṭuṅ karuṇaiyeyti iṉitu naṭāttukiṉṟa

[ll.13–17] *uttamanīti uyarperuṅkīrtti muttamiḻ mālai mummati moḻintu citralēkai citramēḻipperiyanāṭṭu nāṭu nakaraṅkaḷilōmum nammakkaḷ aṟupattu nālu muṉaiyum muṉaivīrakoṭiyārum pōruñ ciṟapparuñ ciṟappuṭaikkalaṉaiyuarumm tokku niraittup piṟartaṟakki catturunācam niyāyam vallapanāṭu nakaraṅkaḷōmum akarabrahmadēyaṅkaḷōmum vyavasthai paṇṇiṉapaṭi*

[ll.18–26] *uṭaiyār tiruppaiñṅīli uṭaiya nāyaṉār kōyilil periya nāṭṭāṉ tirumāḻikayum periyanāṭṭāṉ tirukkōpuramum innāḷ varaiyun tiruppaṇikkuṟaiyāyk kitantu pōtukaiyil it tiruppaṇikkurai... ḷ tiruppaṇikaḷum mutaliyār tavap perumāḷ mutaliyā...ceyyvippatāka eṟaṭṭuk koḷkaiyil it tiruppaṇikaḷukku vai...kkuṭutta āṇṭu oṉṟukku nañcai nilattuttu vēli oṉṟukku ...yāka vanta nellu kār pāti pacāṉam pāti peṟavum puṉcei nilattu ...vēli oṉṟukku oru paṇamāka vanta paṇam peṟavum ippati cantrātittavaraiyum peṟṟu ittiruppaṇikaḷ ceyvippatākavum*

[ll.26–30] *innellum paṇamum kuṭāta iṭattil veṇkaḷam paṟittum maṇkalantakattum koḷḷakkaṭava...vatākavum ippaṭikku kallilum cempilum*

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veṭṭik koḷḷak kaṭavatākavum ippaṭi sammatittu vyavastai paṇṇiṇōm nāṭu nakaraṅkaḷōmum akara brahmadēśaṅkaḷōm

[37]

Piranmalai, Ramnathapuram Dt. Chokkandar temple.
SII, VIII, 442. c. AD 1300.

[ll.1–4] *svasti śrī śrī bhūmidēvi putrāṇām kshārakshīrōd pūrvinām jayanti citralōkānām rājjya paripālakānām sarvvalōkahitārtdhāya citramēḻīś śāsanam tribhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīraśāsanam lakshaṇalakshmī vilāsālamkṛita vakshastala bhuvaṉaparākrama śrī vāsudēvasahāya [kaṇḍaḷi] mūlapatrolpa śrī aympoḻir paramēśvarikkum bhūmidēvikkum makkaḷāki nikaḻā niṉṟa matitoṭa ᴘoṅku māṭavītip patiṉeṭṭup paṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇṭu [vē]ḷāpuramum aṟupattunālu kaṭikaittāvaḷamum tāvaḷattiruntu taṉmaivaḷaṟkuñ ceṭṭiyuñ ceṭṭi[vīrapputtiraṉun] tavaṟoṉṟillāta taṉmaiyoḻukkattuk.kavaṟai taṉṉōṭu kāśyavaṉ viṭutta cāmuṇṭēśvariyum uruttiraṉ viṭutta ōlaivāriyaṉum uṉṉiyatu muṭikkum oṇṭiṟal vī rar paṉṉirutaṟattup paṇiceymakkaḷum muṉṉiyāka*

[ll.4–8] *muḻavoli vaḷaṟkum muttamiṭ pāṭalō ṭāṭalōvā viḻavum vēḻviyum viḷaṅkiya vitiyuṭait teṅkum palāvun tēmāñcōlaiyuñ cantaṉavēlic caṇpakappoḻilum vāḻaiyuṅ kamukum vaḷarkoṭi mullaiyum pūvaiyuṅ kiḷḷaiyum polivoṭu cūḻa vāṭṭaminṟik kūṭṭam peruka aṟam vaḷarak kali meliya pukaḻ perukap pakai paṇiyat ticaiyaṉaittuñ ceviṭupaṭac ceṅkōlē muṉṉākavuñ cempoṟ pacumpaiye teyvamākavuṅ kshamaiyiṉōṭuṅ karuṇaiyeytac camaiyataṉmai yiṉitunaṭātti nikaḻāniṉṟa nāṉkuticai samastalōkap patineṇvishaiyattōmum eṭṭaivaṭṭai yiṭaivaṭṭaikaḷir ticaiviḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaiñnūṟṟuvarōmum ēṟucāt tiṟaṅku cāttut ticaiviḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaiñnūṟṟuvarōmum aṟṟaivaṭṭai yaruvaṭṭai nārattarai nalvāttarai ticaiviḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaiñnūṟṟuvarōmum aṟaṅkaḷ taraṅkaḷir ticaiviḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaiñnūṟṟuvarōmum nāṭu nakaraṅkaḷir ticaiviḷaṅku ticaiyāyirattaiñnūṟṟuvarōmum*

[ll.8–10] *kēralaciṅkavaḷanāṭṭu aruvimānakaramāṉa kulacēkarappaṭṭiṉattu nakarattōmun tuvarāpatināṭṭu eṟipaṭainallūr vaṭamaṭṭai nakarattōmum puṟamalaināṭṭup pututteruvāṉa cēranārāyaṇapurattu nakarattōmum kaṭalaṭaiyātilaṅkaikoṇṭa cōḻavaḷanāṭṭu uṟattūr kūṟṟak koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu nakarattōmun tirukkōṭṭiyūr maṇiyampalattu nakarattōmum kēraḻaciṅkavaḷanāṭṭu aḻakāpuramāṉa ceḻiyanāṟāyaṇapurattu nakarattōmum ayapoḻilvaḷanāṭṭuk kalvāyal nāṭṭuc cuntarapāṇṭiyapurattu nakarattōmum kaḷavaḻināṭṭu aḻakaimāṉakaramāṉa jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻapperunteru nakarattōmum maṇṭalikaṉ kempīrapperunteru nakarattōmum paṉniraṇṭu nakarattu jayaṅkoṇṭa cōḻapuram uḷḷiṭṭa nakarattōmum karuvūr kaṇṇapuram paṭṭāli talaiyūr irācarācapuraṅ kīraṉūr uḷḷiṭṭa pala nakaraṅkaḷil nakarattōmum*

[ll.10–12] *tirumalaināṭṭut tirukkoṭuṅkuṉṟattu tirumalaiyaṭivārattu māṟkkavakaititta mutaliyār nāyaṉār uṭaiyār aḻakiya tirucciṟṟampalamuṭaiya*

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nāyaṉār tirukkōyilun tirukkuḷamum maṭamun tirumaṭaiviḷākamum patiṉeṇvishaiyattār rakshaiyātalāl iṉṉāyaṉār kōyil tirukkāvaṇattu niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟak kūṭi amaiyap pēci icaiyac ceyta taṉmacamaiyak kāriyamāvatu iṉṉāyaṉāṟkut tiruppaṭimāṟṟukkun tiruppaṇikkun tiruppariccaṭṭan tirumēṟpūccukku inta maṭattukkum maṟṟum uḷḷa nimantaṅkaḷukkum cantirātittavaṟ celvatāka vaittukkuṭuttapaṭi āvatu

[11.12–22] *uppup poti oṉṟukku (karitikkuk) kācu oṉṟum uppup pākkattukku kācu araiyum upput talaiccumai oṉṟukku kācu araiyum uppu vaṇṭi oṉṟukku kācu pattum neṟ poti oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum neṟpākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu araiyum*

nel vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu pattum arici vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum aricippoti oṉṟukku kācu iraṇṭum aricip pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum payaṟṟam vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum payaṟṟam poti oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum payaṟṟam pākkam (poti) oṉṟukkuk kācu araiyum avarai tuvari vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum

avarai tuvaraip poti oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu araiyum āmaṇakkaṅ koṭṭai vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu pattum poti oṉṟukkuk kācu araiyum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu kālum pākkup poti oṉṟukkuk kācu nālum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum miḷaku poti oṉṟukkuk kācu ayñcum miḷaku pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭaraiyum mañcaḷ poti oṉṟukkuk kācu mūṉṟum pākkattukkuk kācu oṉṟaraiyum

cukkup poti oṉṟukkuk kācu mūṉṟum pākkattukkuk kācu oṉṟaraiyum veṇkāyaṅ kaṭuku cīrakam poti oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum pākkattukkuk kācu oṉṟum kaṭunelli tāṉṟip poti oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum pākkattukkuk kācu araiyum iruppu vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum iruppu poti oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum pākkattukkuk kācu oṉṟum

parutti vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu pattum poti oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum nūl vaṇṭi oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum nūl poti oṉṟukkuk kācu ayñcum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭaraiyum talaiccumaikkuk kācu iraṇṭum parutti talaiccumaikkuk kācu araiyum parumpuṭavaip poti oṉṟukkuk kācu pattum neṉpuṭavaip poti oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum parumpuṭavaip pākkattukkuk kācu ayñcum

neṉpuṭavaip pākkattukkuk kācu ayñcum talaiccumaikkuk kācu ayñcum ulaṇṭupili talaiccumai oṉṟukkuk kācu ayñcum meḻuku poti oṉṟukkuk kācu pattum pākkattukkuk kācu ayñcum talaiccumai oṉṟukkuk kācu nālum tēṉkuṭam oṉṟukkuk kācu nālum eṭ poti oṉṟukkuk kācu nālum pākkam oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum talaiccumai oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum kōṇikaippaṭṭup poti oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum pākkattukkuk kācu oṉṟum talaiccumai oṉṟukkuk kācu oṉṟum

cantaṉam poti oṉṟukkuk kācu muppatum akil cumai oṉṟukkuk kācu muppatum paṭṭup paṭṭāvaḷac cumai oṉṟukkuk kācu muppatum paṉnīrkkuṭṭam oṉṟukkuk kācu muppatum cavari mayirc cumai oṉṟukkuk kācu muppatum karpūrantayilāṉ cumai oṉṟukkuk kācu irupatum cāntu puḻuku

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cavātu kompu oṉṟukkuk kācu patiṉaiñcum iccarak kukkaḻukku pākkattil koḷḷumpaṭikkut talaiccumai oṉṟu mukkāl koḷvatākavum cemāṭu oṉṟukkuk kācu iraṇṭum kutirai oṉṟukku accuk kālum āṉai oṉṟukku accu araiyum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭa carakkukkaḻukkum immaccātikaḻilē koḷvatākac camaiyap piṭipāṭu paṇṇikkuṭuttōm

[11.22–36] *ticaiviḻaṅku ticai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvarōmum aruvimāṉakaram eḻuttu pārviḻaṅkuṭi kiḻavar tulaiyātacelvar cokkamaṅkalamuṭaiyār poḷḷanāṭṭu vēḷār poṟkaṭṭiyuṭaiyā ravaṉiccūḻāmaṇināṭṭu vēḷār*

āṉmaṉūruṭaiyār māṇikkarāyar amparkkiḻār aḻakaimāṉār paravai yuṭaiyār maṇṭalavaraicar uṟattūruṭaiyāṉ aḻakaikkōṉār pālaiyūruṭaiyāṉ paṭṭiṉacuvāmi pālaiyūruṭaiyār vaṇikarāyar puḻiyaṅkuṭaiyār pāmpuṇināṭṭu vēḷār kōvalūruṭaiyār tamiḻatiraiyar arumpākkiḻār vaṇikarātittar kōvaluṭaiyār civapattar tuḻāruṭaiyār namacivāyatēvar paṭṭamuṭaiyār āṇai namateṉṟaperumāḷ aṉaippāṭiyuṭāiyār utaiyappiḷḷai paravaiyuṭaiyār ceṭṭiyāṇṭār

muṭṭapāṭi uṭaiyār toṇṭaimāṉār kalacappāṭi uṭaiyār tiruñāṉacampantar nāvalūruṭaiyār tiruñāṉacampantar arumpākkiḻār toṇṭaināṭukiḻavar uṟattūruṭai yār tiruttoṇṭattokaiyar marutūruṭaiyār cakkaravattik kiḻipparṟumār tiruccirāppaḷḷiyuṭaiyār aḻakāpurap paṟṟuṭaiyār utaiyap piḷḷaiyāṉa irunetikkuṭaiyār maṇṇi nāṭṭu vēḷār poṉṉampalak kūttar

pūta maṅkalamuṭaiyār purantarar neṭuvāyaluṭaiyār paḷḷiyaṇimār tirukkōṭṭiyūr maṇaṟkuṭaiyār āṉantakkūttāṇṭār maṇaṟkuṭaiyār tiruvampalapperumāḷ peruñcēvūruṭaiyār aṇiyaraṅkatātar pākkamuṭaiyār śrī nantakōpar paṇṇaikiḻavar pāṇṭiyatarayar aḻicirpākka muṭaiyār pattaṟkaruḷceyvār aḻakaimāṉakar vaciravaṇar cikkaluṭaiyār vaḻutikkōṉār

aḻicirpākkamuṭaiyār pollātapiḷḷai aṉaippāṭiyuṭaiyār tirumuṇṭamaḻakiyār niyamattil āvaṇiyuṭaiyār ceppamuṭaic campantar cirṟamparuṭaiyār amarakōṉār toṇṭaināṭu kiḻavar civatavaṉap perumāḷ cuntarapāṇṭiyapuram veṇṇainallūruṭaiyār tillaināyakap piḷḷai cempaṅkuṭaiyār perṟapiḷḷai pāmpuramuṭaiyār uṭaiyapiḷḷai perāṉpūruṭaiyār tātar kāḻaiyarkāvup perunteru paṭṭiṉa cuvāmikaḷ vaṇikar mātākkaḷ cokkañāṉacampantar

eṟipaṭainallur vēmpuṭaiyār malaimaṇṭalamātākkaḷ maruttuvakkuṭaiyār kaṉṉāvuṭaiyār maruttuvakkuṭaiyār cokkañāṉacampantar vāṭāvuṭaiyār nittar vālaiyaṉ kūttaṉāṉa teṉṉakōṉār māṅkuṭaiyār maṉṉaṉāṉa māṇikkarāyar māṅkuṭaiyār poṉṉināṭṭuk kōṉār koṭumpāḷūr māṭattāṇṭār tillai vēntar piḷḷāṇṭāṉāṉa piḷḷaiyeṉātār cuntarapperumāḷāṉa tamiḻakōṉār pututteru nāvalūruṭaiyār civapattar

nāṭṭār paḷḷiyuṭaiyār tirunīṟuparappiṉār tirunallūruṭaiyār uṭaiyapiḷḷai vākūruṭaiyār vaḻutikkōṉār tiruveṭpūruṭaiyār pāṇṭik kōṉār vāṭāvūruṭaiyār taṉmaparipālar aṭaippuṭaiyār appāṇṭār māttuṭaiyār kantapiḷḷai virāṇakkuṭaiyār āḷavantāṉāṉa maṇṭalacuvāmi

ippatineṇ vishaiyattāt paṇikka ivvamai veḻutiṉāṉ innāyaṉār kōyiṟkaṇakkaṉ

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kaṇṇaṅkuṭaiyāṉ kēraḷaṉ pattaṟkaruḷceyvāṉāṉa cuntarapāṇṭiya mūvēntavēḷāṉ itu paṉmāhēsvara rakshai

ceyaṅkoṇṭa cōḻapurattu kāḷi maṇṭalamaṇikaḷ eḻuttu camaiyac cakkaravatti eḻuttu

āḷkoṇṭāṉ civapattaṉ eḻuttu kuṭantaipiriyaṉ eḻuttu cōmaṉ viḻumpāṉāṉa uṟaiyūruṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu

apimāṉacōḻapurattu ampalavaṉ ceyaṅkoṇṭacōḻac cilaiceṭṭi uḷḷittār eḻuttu pēṭṭaiyil uṭaiyāṉ āpattukkāttāṉ eḻuttu

toṭṭipuramāṉa rājakēcaripurattu tāvaḷakkoṇṭāṉ eḻuttu civapātacēkara purattu kāḷi muppēruṭaiyāṉ eḻuttu camaiyapurantaran uḷḷi...cōḻa pāṇṭiyapurattuk koḻuntaṉ uṭaiyār camaiyamantiri eḻuttu

māṇikkāṇṭāṉ eḻuttu paḷḷikoṅkāṇṭāṉ eḻuttu kōṭṭaikkaraiyāṉ kōḷaricēkarapurattuk kurraṉ cēvaṉ uḷḷiṭṭār eḻuttu karuvūr vañcimānakaram muṭivaḷaṅku cōḻapurattup piḷḷai kāṉanāṭṭucceṭṭi eḻuttu

māṇikkaṉ eṟipattāṇṭāṉ eḻuttu talaiyūrṉāṭṭu naṉmuttavaṇikaṉ kīraṉūr uṭaiyāṉ koṅkamaṇṭalac cilaiceṭṭi kaṇṇapurattu tēvaṉ camaiyamātā muṭikoṇṭattu cōḻai cokkañāṉacampantaṉ koṟraṉūr uṭaiyāṉ maṇṭala cuvāmi kutiraicceṭṭikaḷil vaṇikar nārāyaṇaṉ eḻuttu.

Translation[16]

(ll.1–8) We, (the members of the Assembly) of the Eighteen districts composed of all classes of people situated in the four quarters, setting before us the righteous sceptre of the king and respecting as goddess the purse filled with fine gold, justly conducted the transactions of the assembly (*samaya dharma*) with patience and sypmathy in such a way that the populace prospered and were free from cares, the virtue prospered, Kali (i.e., sin) might fade, fame spread and enemity subdued,

that the eighteen Paṭṭiṇam with their streets having terraced buildings which rise so high as to touch the moon; the thirty-two Vaḷarpuram[17] (growing towns); the sixty-four Kuḍigattāvaḷam the Cheṭṭis and the Cheṭṭi greatmen, who residing in the tāvaḷam (ever) contribute to the growth of (their) dharma; these along with the Kavarai of flawless righteous conduct, the Chāmuṇḍēśvari sent by Kāśyapa the Ōlai-vāriyan; sent by Rudra and the twelve classes of workmen of unique prowess that executed all conceivable behests,

the streets appearing in all splendour with their festivities and religious sacrifices and never ceasing dances conducted to the accompaniment of the beating

[16] By K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer: 'Largest Provincial Organisations in Ancient India', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, (new series), 45. pp. 29–47, 70–98, 270–86 and 46, pp. 8–22.

[17] Read as *vēḷāpuram*. It is a harbour town.

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ot the big drum and the song composed in the three kinds of Tamil. And surrounded by cocoanut palms, jack trees, sweet mango plants, śaṇbaga gardens with sandal-wood fence and plantains, areca-palms and the spreading jasmine creeper beautifully encircled by *pūvai* and parrots.

With all the assemblies of the Thousand Five Hundred[18], viz. Diśai Thousand Five Hundred of the Eṭṭaivaṭṭai and Iḍaivaṭṭai renowned in all quarters

Diśai Thousand Five Hundred of the Eruśāttu and Iraṅguśāttu, renowned in the quarters

Diśai Thousand Five Hundred of the Arraivaṭṭai and Aṟuvaṭṭai and Nārattarai and Nalvāttarai renowned in the quarters

Diśai Thousand Five Hundred of the Araṅgam and Taraṅgam, renowned in the quarters

Diśai Thousand Five Hundred of the Nāḍu and Nagara, renowned in the quarters; along with

The Nagarattār of Aruvimaṅgalam alias Kulaśekharapaṭṭinam in Kēraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Eṟipaḍainallūr-Vaḍamaṭṭai in Tuvarāpatināḍu,

the Nagarattār of Pudutteru alias Sēranārāyaṇpuram in Puṟamalai-nāḍu,

the Maṇigrāmattu-Nagarattār of Koḍumbāḷūr in Urattūr-kūrram a subdivision of Kaḍaladaiyādilaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr-Maṇiyambalam,

the Nagarattār of Aḷagāpuram alias Śeḷiyanārāyaṇapuram in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu,

the Nagaraattār of Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram in Kalvāyil-nāḍu of Ayyapoḷil-vaḷanāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Aḷagai*māna*garam alias Jayaṅgoṇḍaśoḷap-perunteru in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Maṇḍaligar Gambīrapperunteru, as also

the twelve Nagarams including Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷapurattu-Nagarattār, and

the Nagarattār of Karuvūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Paṭṭāli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram, Kīraṉūr and several other cities (Nagaraṅgaḷ).

(ll.11-12) All these having assembled in full without deficiency in the number required for forming the quorum in the *tirukkāvaṇam* of the temple of Mārgavagai-ṭīṛṭta-mudaliyar-Nāyaṇār Uḍaiyār-Aḷagiya-Tirucciṛrambalamuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār situated at the foot of the

[18] The translation is not correct. Here and subsequently this phrase (Disai Thousand Five Hundred) has to be corrected as the Five Hundred of the the thousand directions (*disai*).

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Tirukkoḍuṇkuṉṟam hill in Tirumalai-nāḍu, made the following *samaya-dharma kārya* after holding convincing discussions resulting in a unanimous agreement assigning the undermentioned fees so as to last as long as the moon and the sun for the sacred daily offerings,repairs of the temple, the *tiruppariśaṭṭam* and the sacred anoinment of the body of the god of the temple, for the requirements of the *maṭha* and for other requirements, as the sacred temple, the sacred tank, the maṭha and the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* are kept under our, (i.e., Pandiṇeṇ-vishayattār's) protection.

(ll.12–22)

Levy on merchandise in *kāsu*

	Quantity			
Article	1 *podi*	1 *pākkam*	1 headload	1 cart
Uppu (Salt)	1	1/2	1/2	10
Nel (Paddy)	1	1/2		10
Arisi (Rice)	2	1		20
Payaṟu (Green gram)	1	1/2		20
Avarai (Beans)	1	1/2		20
Tuvarai (Dhal)	1	1/2		20
Āmaṇau (Castor seed)	1/2	1/4		10
Pāu (Areca nuts)	4	2		
Miḷagu (Pepper)	5	2 1/2		
Mañjal (Turmeric)	3	1 1/2		
sukku (Dried ginger)	3	1 1/2		
Veṇkāyam (Onion)	2	1		
Kaḍugu (Mustard)	2	1		
Jīrakam (Cumin seed)	2	1		
Kaḍuāy (Chebulic Myrobalans)	1	1/2		
Nelli (Embellic Myrobalans)	1	1/2		
Tāṉṟi (Beleric Myrobalans)	1	1/2		
Irumbu (Iron)	2	1		20
Parutti (Cotton)	2	1	1/2	10
Nūl (Yarn or thread)	5	2 1/2	2	20
Parum Puḍavai (Thick cloth)	10	5		
Mēn Puḍavai (Thin cloth)	20	5	5	
Ulaṇḍu (a kind of thread)			5	
Meḻugu (Wax)	10	5	4	
Eḷ (Sesamum)	4	2	1	
Kōṇi (Gunny)	2	1	1	
Sandaṇam (Sandal)	30			

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Tēṉ (Honey)	4 per pot
Agil (Cedar)	30 per bundle
Paṭṭu Paṭṭāvaḷam (Silk)	30 per bundle
Paninīr (Rose water)	30 per pot
Savari mayir	30 per load
Karpūra-tailam	20 per load
Sāndu	15 per Kombu
Puḷugu	15 per Kombu
Javvādu	15 per Kombu
Sēmāḍu	2 each
Kudirai (Horse)	1/4 achchu each
Āṉai (Elephant)	1/2 achchu each

Thus had the samaya-piḍipāḍu been drawn up and given by the Diśai Thousand and Five Hundred renowned in all the quarters.

(ll.22 to 36) Names of signatories.

[38] Kovilpatti, Kulittalai Tk, Tiruchirappalli Dt.
ARE, 1964-65, 286. AD 1305.

camatta cākara pa[la]maṇṭalattu camaiviṉōṭuṅ karuṇaiyeyti camaiya taṉmai iṉitu naṭātti nikaḻā niṉṟa nāṉkuticaip patiṉeṇvi...yittēcit ticaiviḻaṅku ticai ticaiyāyirattu ayññūṟṟuvarōmum ēṟucāttu iṟaṅkucāttu naṭātti nikaḻāniṉṟa nāṉkuticaip patineṇpūmit tēcitticaiviḻaṅku ticai ticai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvarōmum eṭṭai yiṭai vaṭṭai naṭātti nikaḻā niṉṟa —

ayññūṟṟuvarōmum peḻivapeḻi naṭātti nikaḻāniṉṟa ayññūṟṟuvarōmum nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḷ taḷacceṭṭikaḷ nammakkaḷ muṉaiyil muṉaivīrakkoṭiyārum uttamanītiyuyar peruṅkaruṇaic cittiramēḻip periyanāṭṭōmum accakaṇṭa kāvil niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu kuṟaivaṟakkūṭi amaiyappēci icaiyacceyta taṉmacamaiya kāriyamāvatu śrī maṟkīrttimēl — [king and date]

kōṉāṭāṉa kaṭalaṭaiyātilaṅkaikoṇṭa cōḻavaḷaṉāṭṭu uṟattūr kūṟṟattu mutucoṟkuṭi nāṭṭu vaṭatāḻiyūruṭaiyār irāirācuramuṭaiya nāyaṉāṟku ollaiyūr kūṟṟattu cuntaracōḻa puramāṉa tēciyukanta paṭṭiṉattu nakarattōmum koṭumpāḻūr maṇikkirāmattu nakarattōmum teliṅkakulakāla puramāṉa kulōttuṅkacōḻa paṭṭiṉattu nakarattōmum koṉṟaiyūrāṉa uttamacōḻa purattu nakarattōmum

ippaṭikku amaintu inta uṭaiyār rājarātīsvaramuṭaiya ṉāyaṉāṟku amaiyappēci icaiyac ceyta taṉma camaiya kāriyamāvatu ivaṟku nāṅkaḷ iṟṟai nāḻāl kaṭṭikkuṭutta paṭṭanappakuti miḻaku poti oṉṟukku paṇam mūṉṟu māvum pākkup poti 1 panam 2 mā puṭavaik kaṭṭu 1 paṇam 6 mā ... ...[some portion missing]

kutirai 1 paṇam 1 ōṭṭai 1 paṇam 1/2 aviḻāk kaṭṭu 1 paṇam 1 1/2 akil mayir cantaṉam karpūram uḷḷiṭṭa palamaṇṭalac carakkukum cumai 1 paṇam 1 pacu

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erutu kiṭā verumai uḷḷiṭṭa kāli māṭu uru 1 paṇam 1/2 mā

ulaṇṭu puṭavai poti vēṟkompu peruku [kastūri] kampi uḷḷiṭṭaṉavaiṟṟukku poti 1 paṇam 11/2 mā nel poti 1 paṇam 1/2 mā cāmai pul varaku uḷḷiṭṭa mutiraip paṇṭam avarai tuvarai kaṭuku ve...paṇṭam poti 1 paṇam 1 mā puḷip poti 1 paṇam 1 mā kaṇamālai ḳaru-aḷai mālai caṅku tantam ip...cumai 1 paṇam 11/2 mā

aricippoti 1 paṇam 1 mā uppu vaṇṭi puḷi vaṇṭi nel vaṇṭi maṟṟum vaṇṭiyil oru paṇṭattukku paṇam 1/8 ippaṭiyāl nām koṇṭu parimāṟum palavēṟu upakaraṇa paṇṭam uḷḷavaiyiṟṟukku kaṇṭu matittu koḷḷavum

ippaṭiyāl vanta paṭṭaṇappakuti cōrāmal śrī māhēśvara kaṅkāṇi uṭaṉē eṭuttu mutalāka koḷvārkaḷ ippaṭi cempiluṅ kallilum veṭṭi koḷḷa kaṭavatāka cammatittōm palaṉakarattāru ticaiviḷaṅku ticai ticai āyirattaññūṟṟuvarōm ippaṭṭiyāl camaiyam paṇikka camaiyakkaṇakku koṭumpāḷūr uṭaiyāṉ koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkirāmattu nakara cikaraṇattān tēvan tirumēṉi aḻakiyāṉ eḻuttu.

[39]

Tarangambadi, Mayavaram, Thanjavur. Masilamanisvara Temple.
SII, IV, 399. Pandya king Kulasekharadeva, AD 1305.

svasti śrī śrī matkīrttikku mēl kōmāṟapanmar tirupuvanaca kkaravattikaḷ śrī kulacēkātēvaṟkku yāṇṭu 37 vatu cittirai mātam mutal

caṭaṅkaṉpāṭiyāna kulacēkaraṉ paṭṭinattu uṭaiyār maṇivaṇṇīcuramutaiyāṟku vīrakaṟpakaṉ caṉtiyamutu ceytaruḷa

paṭiṉeṇmishaiyattārum karaiyārum niccayittapaṭi ivvūr nālu vēlikkum uḷpaṭṭa maṉaiyāl mātam tōṟum irunāḻi arici taṇṭikkoḷḷak kaṭavatākavum taṇṭum iṭattu itukkut tāḻvu coṉṉāruṇṭākil patineṇvishaiyattukkum karaiyāṟkum turōkiyākak kaṭavarkaḷākavum ippaṭikku paṭiṉeṇmishaiyattārum karaiyārum ōm subhamastu.

[40]

Sinnamanur, Periyakulam Tk, Madurai Dt. Rajasimhesvara temple.
SII, XXIII, 431. Pandya king M. Kulasekhara I, AD 1309.

svasti śrī tiruvāykkēḻvikku mēl śrī kōmāṟapaṉmarāṉa tiripuvaṉa cakkaravattikaḷ yemmaṇṭalamuṅ koṇṭaruḷiya śrī kulajekaradēvaṟku yāṇṭu 41vatu āṉi māta 14 tiyati pūrvapakshattu prathamaiyum puṇar pūcamum perṟa tiṅkaḷ kiḻamai nāḷ

aḷa nāṭṭu arikēcari nallūr uṭaiyār tiruppūlānturai uṭaiyārāṉa rājasimhacōḷa īśuramuṭaiyāṟku nālu nakaram patiṉeṇvishaiyattōmum patiṉeṭṭirācciyattiṟ patiṉeṇvishaiyattōmum tarakarōmum nāṭṭucceṭṭikaḷōmum taḷacceṭṭikaḷōmum

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uṭaiyār vikrama pāṇḍīśvaramuṭaiya nāyaṉār tiruma...til niṟaivaṟa niṟaintu...niccayitta kāriyamāvatu uṭaiyār tiruppūlāntu ṟaiyuṭaiya nāyaṉār...tta paṭṭiṉa pakitiyāvatu... [Continuation lost].

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Abbreviations to Districts, etc.
(in Appendix 3 & 4)

ANT	— Anantapur	KTM	— Kottayam
AP	— Andhra Pradesh	KZK	— Kozikkodu
BJP	— Bijapur	MAH	— Mahbubnagar
BLG	— Belgaum	MD	— Madurai
BLY	— Bellary	MYS	— Mysore
BNG	— Bangalore	NA	— North Arcot
CBE	— Coimbatore	NEL	— Nellore
CDG	— Chitradurga	NK	— North Kanara
CG	— Chingeleput	PD	— Pudukkottai
CMG	— Chikmagalur	PLG	— Palghat
CN	— Cochin	PRK	— Prakasam
CTR	— Chittoor	RCR	— Raichur
CUD	— Cuddapah	RD	— Ramanathapuram
DP	— Dharmapuri	SA	— South Arcot
DWD	— Dharwar	SAN	— Sangli
ERD	— Erode	SL	— Salem
GLB	— Gulbarga	SMG	— Shimoga
GNT	— Guntur	Sri L.	— Sri Lanka
HSN	— Hassan	TJ	— Thanjavur
HYD	— Hyderabad	TMK	— Tumkur
KL	— Kerala	TN	— Tamil Nadu
KLP	— Kolhapur	TN	— Tirunelveli
KLR	— Kolar	TP	— Tiruchirappalli
KMM	— Khammam	VSP	— Visakhapatnam
KN	— Karnataka	WAR	— Warangal
KRN	— Kurnool		

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Appendix 3

List of the Analysed Inscriptions of the Merchant Guilds

No	Text[1]	Place	Dt	Year	Reference
01	01	Aihole	BJP	c.0800	*IA*, VIII, p.287f; *BK* 1927-28,
02	02	Aihole	BJP	c.0800	*SII*, XX, 463
03	03	Munisandai	PD	0927	*IPS*, 61
04	04	Kamudi	RD	c.0950	*ARE*. 1974-75, 96
05	05	Bedkihal	BLG	1000	*KI*, IV, 55
06	06	Tiruvidaimarudur	TJ	1014	*SII*, XIX, 4
07		Belathur	MYS	1033	*EC*. III(n), Hg.59
08	07	Basinikonda	CTR	1050	*ARE*, 1912, 342
09	08	Samuttirapatti	MD	1050	*Avanam*, 3, pp.6-8
10		Karashanapalle	CTR	1054	*ARE*, 1912, 321
11		Jambai	SA	1054	*SII*, XXII, 80
12	09	Hirahadagalli	BLY	1057	*SII*, IX,118
13	10	Vembatti	CBE	1074	*ARE*, 1976-77, 213
14		Holal	BLY	.1074	*SII*, IX,139
15	11	Barus Loboe Toewa	IND	1088	*TBG*, LXXII, 1932, pp.314-32
16	12.1-2	Vishakapatnam	VSP	1090	*SII*, X, 651; *SII*, XXVI, 103
17	12.3	Vishakapatnam	VSP	1090	*SII*, X, 211
18	13	Hanamanhal	DWD	1099	*SII*, XI,148
19	14	Kattur	CG	c.1100	*ARE*, 1912, 256
20	15	Singalantapuram	TP	c.1100	*ARE*, 1943-44, 237
21		Mudlukoppalu	MYS	c.1100	*EC*, V(n), KN.116

[1]The no. in this column refers to the serial number of the texts in Appendix 2.

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22		Kempanapura	MYS	c.1100	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 146
23		Lakshmesvar	DWD	1118	*SII*, XX, 78
24	16	Kolhapur	KLP	1135	*EI*, XIX, 4A
25	17	Miraj	SNG	1142	*EI*, XIX,4B
26	18	Telsang	BLY	1147	*KI*, II, pp.79-85
27	19	Viharehinna	SLN	c.1150	*Avanam*, 9, pp.33-34
28	20	Budumuttava	SLN	c.1150	*Avanam*, 9, pp.37-39
29	21	Belagami	SMG	c.1200	*EC*, VII, Sk.118
30	22	Managoli	BJP	1161	*EI*, V, 3A
31	23	Golihalli	BLY	1173	*KI*, V, 64
32		Kurugodu	BLY	1177	*SII*, IX, 297
33	24	Terdal	BJP	1181	*KI*, V, 98
34	25	Sirasangi	BLY	1186	*KI*, I, pp.38-51
35	26	Tirukkannapuram	TJ	1189	*ARE*, 1922, No.505
36	27	Padaviya	SLN	c.1200	*CTI*, I, pp.54-55 (plate)
37	28	Vahalkada	SLN	c.1200	*CTI*, I, pp.53-54 (plate)
38	29	Nattam	MD	c.1200	*Avanam*, 3, pp. 35-36
39		Detiyamulla	SLN	c.1200	*Avanam*, 9, pp.34-36
40		Galtenpitiya	SLN	c.1200	*Avanam*, 9, pp.36-37
41		Haragadde	BNG	c.1200	*EC*, IX, An.67
42		Somambudhi-agrahara	KLR	c.1200	*EC*, X, Kl.170
43	30	Valikandapuram	TP	1207	*ARE*, 1943-44, No. 264
44	31	Anbil	TP	1235	*SII*, VIII,198
45		Kistnapatam	NEL	1257	*NI*, Gudur 39
46		Dodballapur	BNG	1267	*EC*, IX,DB.31
47	32	Tittandatanapuram	RD	1269	*ARE*, 1926, 598
48	33	Avur	NA	1272	*SII*, XII, 236
49	34	Kistnapatnam	NEL	1280	*NI*, Gudur 45
50	35	S. Periyapalaiyam	CBE	1289	*Avanam*, 6, pp.36-40
51	36	Tiruppangili	TP	1295	*ARE*, 1938-39, 189
52	37	Piranmalai	RD	c.1300	*SII*, VIII,442
53	38	Kovilpatti	TP	1305	*ARE*, 1964-65, 286
54	39	Tarangambadi	TJ	1305	*SII*, IV, 399
55	40	Sinnamanur	MD	1309	*SII*, XXIII, 431

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Appendix 4.1

Chronological List of the Merchant-guild Inscriptions

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Year	Place	Taluk	Dist.	State	Reference
0800	Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*IA*. VIII, pp. 287-88 (no.lix).
0800	Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 463.
0849	Kottayam	Kottayam	KTM	KL	*TAS*, II, 9.
0900	Melnangavaram	Kulittalai	TP	TN	*Avanam*,10, 10, p.16-17.
0900	Takuapa (Thailand)				*JMBRAS*, 22,pt.1, pp.25-30.
0927	Munisandai	Tirumayam	PD	TN	*IPS*, 61.
0928	Kuttalam	Tenkasi	TN	TN	*SII*, XIX, 417.
0929	Ramantali	Chirakkal	PLG	KL	*ARE*, 1926, 474.
0929	Gangaikondachola-puram	Udaiyar palayam	TP	TN	TSDA Seminar, pp. 52-57.
0938	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 261.
0962	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	*ARE*, 1937-38, 442.
0976	Punganur	Arcot	NA	TN	*ARE*, 1940-41, 13.
0978	Kamarasavalli	Udayar palayam	TP	TN	Tya.159.
0981	Konerirajapuram	Thanjavur	TJ	TN	*SII*, XIX, 280.
0995	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 247.
1000	Kumaravayalur	Tiruchirap palli	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1936-37, 138.
1000	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1964-65, 308.
1000	Kamudi	Kamuti	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1974-75, 96.

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1000	Nagainallur	Tottiyam	TP	TN	*Avanam*, 12, no.9, p.14.
1000	Velliyanai	Karur	TP	TN	*Avanam*,11,10, p.25.
1000	Kaliyampatti	Turaiyur	TP	TN	*Avanam*,11,9, p.24.
1000	Ukkirankottai	Tirunelveli	TN	TN	*EI*, XXIII,45-D, p.287.
1000	Cochin	Cochin	CN	KL	*EI*, III,11,pp.67-68.
1000	Kodumbalur	Kulattur	PD	TN	*IPS*, 82.
1000	Kayampatti	Kulattur	PD	TN	*IPS*, 1083.
1000	Bedkihal	Chikodi	BLG	KN	*KI*, IV, 55.
1000	Salem	Salem	SL	TN	*SII*, IV, 147.
1000	Srinivasanallur	Musiri	TP	TN	*SII*, XIII, 26.
1000	Tiruvellarai	Tiruchirap palli	TP	TN	*SII*, XIII, 28.
1000	Tiruvilakkudi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	*SII*, XIX, 170.
1000	Vedaranyam	Tirutturaip pundi	TJ	TN	*SII*, XIX, 216.
1000	Tiruvilakkudi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	*SII*, XIX, 459.
1001	Tiruppurambiyam	Kumba konam	TJ	TN	*SII*, VI, 20.
1004	Tiruvidandai	Chengal pattu	CG	TN	*ARE*, 1910, 273.
1014	Viralur	Polur	NA	TN	*ARE*, 1912, 349.
1014	Tiruvidaimarudur	Kumba konam	TJ	TN	*SII*, XIX, 4.
1016	Suttur	Nanjangud	MYS	KN	*EC*, III(n), Nanjangud, 213.
1018	Kanchipuram	Kanchi puram	CG	TN	*ARE*, 1955-56, 264.
1034	Belathur	Heggada devankote	MYS	KN	*EC*, III(n), Hg.59.
1036	Cheranmadevi	Amba amudram	TN	TN	*SII*, XIV, 143.
1048	Tamaraippakkam	Chengam	NA	TN	*ARE*, 1973-74, 173.
1050	Basinikonda	Madanapalli	CTR	AP	*ARE*, 1912, 342.
1050	Samuttirapatti	Nattam	MD	TN	*Avanam*,2, 2.3, pp.6-8.
1050	Dhanaguru	Malavalli	MND	KN	*EC*, VII(n), Ml.51.
1051	Kalasapakkam	Polur	NA	TN	*ARE*, 1938-39, 291.
1052	Malaiappanahalli	Kolar	KLR	KN	*EC*, X, Kl. 19.
1054	Karashanapalle		CTR	AP	*ARE*, 1912, 321.
1054	Kempanapura	Chamraja nagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 146.
1055	Cheranmadevi	Amba amudram	TN	TN	*ARE*, 1916, 651.
1055	Khembavi	Shorapur	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1958-59, 645.
1055	Shiggaon		DWD	KN	*EI*, XIII,p. 168. *KI*, I, pp.20-25.

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1055	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	*SII*, XXII, 80.
1056	Narttamalai	Kulattur	PD	TN	*SII*, XVII, 389.
1057	Hirehadagalli	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 118.
1074	Vembatti	Bhavani	ERD	TN	*ARE*, 1976-77, 213.
1074	Holalu	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 139.
1079	Nilagunda	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX, 141.
1079	Nilgunda	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX, 141.
1088	Barus Loboe Toewa (Sumatra, Indonesia)				*TBG*, LXXII, 1932, pp.314-32; *Avanam*, 4, pp. 116ff.
1090	Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	*SII*, X, 211.
1090	Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	*SII*, X, 651.
1090	Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	*SII*, XXVI, 103.
1094	Belagami (Baligami)	Shikarpur	SMG	KN	*EC*, VII, Sh.94; *IA*, V, pp. 342-45.
1096	Dambal	Gadag	DWD	KN	*IA*.X, pp. 185-90 (no. cxvi).
1097	Kattageri	Badami	BJP	KN	*IA*. VI, pp. 137-39.
1098	Yargal(Bhujurkh)	Sindgi	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 63.
1099	Hanmanhal	Dharward	DWD	KN	*SII*, XI,pt.2, 148.
1100	Kattur	Ponneri	CG	TN	*ARE*, 1912, 256.
1100	Talakad	Mukunda puram	CN	KL	*ARE*, 1927, 358.
1100	Peruvemba	Palaghat	PLG	KL	*ARE*, 1939-40, 402.
1100	Singalantapuram	Musiri	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 237.
1100	Erode	Erode	ERD	TN	*ARE*, 1976-77, 215.
1100	Nagapattinam	Naga pattinam	TJ	TN	*Avanam*,3, 19.
1100	Polonnaruwa (Sri L.)				*CTI*, II, pp.9-12.
1100	Kandagala	Gundlupet	MYS	KN	*EC*, III(n), Gundlupet, 154.
1100	Mangala	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 133.
1100	Hale Aluru	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 193.
1100	Mudigonda	Kollegala	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Kl.100.
1100	Kollegal	Kollegal	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n),Kollegal 2.
1100	Mudigonda	Kollegal	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n),Kollegal 101.
1100	Honnur	Yelandur	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n),Yelandur 17.
1100	Mudlukoppalu	Krishnaraja-nagara	MYS	KN	*EC*, V(n), Kn. 116.

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1100	Motagapalli	Mulbagal	KLR	KN	*EC*, X,pt.1, 247.
1100	Kollam	Kozikkoodu	KZK	KL	*SII*, VII, 162.
1100	Manur	Tirunelveli	TN	TN	*SII*, XXII, 427-28.
1103	Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*KR*, 1953, 24.
1106	Kudumiyamalai	Kulattur	PD	TN	*IPS*, 125.
1108	Shiggaon		DWD	KN	*KI*, I, pp.26-28.
1109	Nulageri	Hirekerur	DWD	KN	*KI*, IV, 34.
1109	Agarkhed	Indi	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 71.
1113	Kodanganuru	Davangere	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI,Davangere, 149.
1118	Lakshmesvar	Shirhatti	DWD	KN	*SII*, XX, 78.
1119	Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*BK*.I,pt.2,168.
1121	Shirol	Gadag	DWD	KN	*SII*, XI,pt.2, 172.
1123	Terdal	Jamkhandi	BJP	KN	*KI*, V, 21,pp.75-83.
1124	Hire Bevinur	Indi	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 85.
1127	Ragimasalvada	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 223.
1135	Kolhapur	Kolhapur	KOL	MH	*EI*, XIX, 4a (p.30-35).
1135	Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	*SII*, XXII, 91.
1136	Arieshwar	Hangal	DWD	KN	*ARE*, 1950-51, 43.
1136	Halebidu	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 328.
1136	Sivapuri	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	*SII*, XIV, 235.
1138	Sravanabelagola		HSN	KN	*EC*, II(n), 208.
1142	Kallengere	Arisikere	HSN	KN	*EC*, V, Arisikere 110.
1142	Tenkarai	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XIV, 251.
1144	Miraj	Miraj	SAN	MH	*EI*, XIX, 4b (p.35-41).
1144	Sansi	Kudgol	DWD	KN	*SII*, XX, 112.
1146	Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1959-60, 475.
1147	Telsang	Athani	BLG	KN	*KI*, II, pp,79-85.
1150	Viharehinna (Sri L.)				*Avanam*,9, 5:1,pp.33-34.
1150	Detiyamulla (Sri L.)				*Avanam*,9,5:2, pp.34-35.
1150	Galtenpitiya (Sri L.)				*Avanam*,9,5:3,pp.32-38.
1150	Budumuttava(Sri L.)				*Avanam*,9, 5:4, p.37-39.
1150	Belagami (Baligami)	Shikarpur	SMG	KN	*EC*, VII, Sh.118
1150	Polonnaruwa (Sri L.)				*SII*, IV, 1396; *EZ*,2,40.
1153	Kallur	Manvi	RCR	KN	*ARE*, 1961-62, 568.

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1157	Kallampatti	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	*IPS*, 134.
1158	Chittapur	Chittapur	KMM	AP	*IAP*. Kn.38.
1159	Bharangi	Sorab	SMG	KN	*EC*, 7, Sorab,328.
1161	Managoli	Basawana	BJP	KN	*EI*, V, 3a, pp.9-23.
1162	Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	KN	*ARE*, 1917, 15.
1162	Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	KN	*ARE*, 1917, 16.
1166	Huyilgol	Gadag	DWD	KN	*SII*, XV, 106.
1167	Hulikere	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, V,pt.1, Belur 177.
1167	Hulikera	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 409.
1168	Yemmiganur	Hirekarur	DWD	KN	*KI*, IV, 15, p.41.
1168	Tittagudi	Vriddhacha lam	SA	TN	*SII*, VIII, 291.
1170	Bhalavani	Khanapur	SMG	KN	*ARE*, 1972-73, 38.
1171	Adki	Sedam	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1976-77, 135, 138-39.
1172	Hale Nidnegila	Hirekarur	DWD	KN	*KI*, IV, 14,pp.39-41.
1173	Golihalli	Khanapur	BLG	KN	*KI*, V, 64, pp. 239-45.
1174	Khadaklat	Chikodi	BLG	KN	*ARE*, 1961-62, 488.
1174	Belhod	Gadag	DWD	KN	*SII*, XV,124. *KI*, 5, 37.
1176	Kurugodu	Bellary	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 296.
1176	Bijapur	Bijapur	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 165.
1177	Kurugodu	Bellary	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 297.
1178	Holalu	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	*ARE*, 1914, 478.
1180	Hodal	Aland	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1977-78, 126.
1180	Somambudi	Kolar	KLR	KN	*EC*, X,pt.1, Kolar 170.
1180	Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	AP	*EI*, XXXI, 37 (p.269-276).
1181	Terdal	Jamkhandi	BJP	KN	*KI*, V, 98, pp. 296-99; *IA*, XIV, pp. 14-26.
1182	Alampur	Alampur	MAH	AP	*ARE*, 1959-60, 157.
1183	Koyilpatti	Kulittalai	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1964-65, 288.
1184	Duggalapura	Tarikere	CMG	KN	*EC*, VI, Tk.10.
1186	Sirasangi	Saundatti	BLG	KN	*KI*, I, pp.38-51.
1188	Banavara	Arisikere	HSN	KN	*EC*, V,pt.1,Arisikere,22.
1189	Tirukkannapuram	Nannilam	TJ	TN	*ARE*, 1922, 505.
1190	Bairedevaragudda	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 554.
1190	Kallampatti	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	*IPS*, 148.
1190	Hire Bevinur	Indi	BJP	KN	*SII*, XX, 175.
1195	Kuruvatti	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX, 391.

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1196	Anaulundava (Polannaruwa) (Sri L.)				*EZ.* II, 38.
1196	Mevundi	Mundargi	DWD	KN	*SII*, XV, 210.
1196	Mevundi	Mundargi	DWD	KN	*SII*, XV, 211.
1198	Vibhutipura	Kolar	KLR	KN	*EC*, X, Kolar 131.
1200	Anuradhapura(Sri L.)				[See Chapter 6]
1200	Tirukkodikaval	Kumba konam	TJ	TN	*ARE*, 1930-31, 46.
1200	Nimbal	Indi	BJP	KN	*ARE*, 1958-59, A2.
1200	Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1959-60, 477.
1200	Gabbur	Devadurga	RCR	KN	*ARE*, 1960-61, 13.
1200	Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	*Avanam*,3, 15:3
1200	Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	*Avanam*,3, 15.1.
1200	Vahalkada (Sri L.)				*CTI.* I, pp.53-54. *CTI*, II, pp.7-9.
1200	Padaviya (Sri L.)				*CTI*, I, pp.54-55.
1200	Padaviya (Sri L.)				*CTI*, II, pp. 19-20
1200	Kandagala	Gundlupet	MYS	KN	*EC*,III(n),Gundlupet,153.
1200	Kerehalli	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 353.
1200	Mamballi	Yelandur	MYS	KN	*EC*,IV(n),Yelandur,158.
1200	Haragadde	Anekal	BNG	KN	*EC*, IX, Anekal,67.
1200	Anuradhapura(Sri L.)				*EZ*, I, pp. 177-82
1200	Hangal	Hangal	DWD	KN	*KI*, V,105,p.307.
1200	Krishnapatnam	Nellore	NEL	AP	*NI*,1,Gd. 39, p.410-413.
1204	Alwandi	Koppal	RCR	KN	*ARE*, 1964-65, 419.
1205	Alburu	Tiptur	TMK	KN	*EC*, XII, Tiptur,43.
1206	Dharwar	Dharwar	DWD	KN	*KI*, V,66,p.246-248; *SII*, XV, 232.
1206	Tirumanturai	Perambalur	TP	TN	Tya.126.
1207	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 264.
1207	Kudatini	Bellary	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX, 327.
1207	Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*SII*, XV, 156.
1208	Chikkayagate	Holalkere	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI, Hk.124.
1208	Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*SII*, XV, 157.
1211	Kunigalughatta	Honnali	SMG	KN	*EC*, VII, Hl.91.
1215	Mudgal	Lingsugur	RCR	KN	*ARE*, 1953-54, 253.
1218	Mudnur	Shorapur	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1960-61, 519.
1218	Kundavada	Davangere	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI, Dv. 105.

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1220	Arisikere	Arisikere	HSN	KN	*EC*, V,pt.1,Arisikere,77.
1220	Halebidu	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 373.
1220	Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	*SII*, XV, 164.
1222	Arasanpalayam	Dharapuram	CBE	TN	*ARE*, 1977-78, 225.
1223	Kolhar	Bagevadi	BJP	KN	*SII*, XV, 169.
1224	Aruppukkottai	Aruppuk kottai	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1914, 406.
1225	Tiruvalisvaram	Amba samudram	TN	TN	*ARE*, 1916, 360.
1225	Pura	Gubbi	TMK	KN	*EC*, XII, Gubbi,11.
1225	Kottayam	Kottayam	KTM	KL	*EI*, IV, 41, pp.290-297.
1226	Kuruvagadde	Honnali	SMG	KN	*EC*, VII, Honnali, 8.
1227	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 276.
1228	Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	*ARE*, 1959-60, 474.
1228	Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	*Avanam*,3, 15.2
1228	Hunuvinodu	Hosadurg	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 104.
1228	Warangal	Warangal	WAR	AP	*IAP*. Wg.63.
1231	Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 411.
1231	Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 412.
1231	Rasipuram	Rasipuram	SL	TN	*SLDI*, 169.
1233	Tirumalai	Sivaganga	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1924, 10.
1233	Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1943-44, 268.
1235	Kokatnur	Athani	BLG	KN	*KI*, II, p.129-137.
1235	Anbil	Lalgudi	TP	TN	*SII*, VIII, 198.
1235	Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 413.
1235	Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 414.
1240	Chintapalle	Sattenepalle	GNT	AP	*ARE*, 1934-35, 277.
1240	Neeragunda	Hosadurg	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 121.
1243	Kalkeri	Hangal	DWD	KN	*ARE*, 1949-50, 108.
1244	Mottupalli	Bapatla	GNT	AP	*EI*, XII, p.188-97.
1245	Devasthanada-hakkalu	Sorab	SMG	KN	*EC*, 7, Sorab, 268.
1245	Tripurantakam	Markapur	KRN	AP	*SII*, X, 304.
1247	Velpuru	Sattenepalli	GNT	AP	*SII*, X, 314.
1250	Mamadapur	Gokak	BLG	KN	*EI*, XIX, 3, pp.19-30.
1250	Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	*SII*, XXVI, 101.
1251	Vengalam		SA	TN	Tya.162.

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1263	Kamarasavalli	Udayar palayam	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1914, 88.
1263	Vadakurangadu turai	Papanasam	TJ	TN	*Avanam*,10(1999), 24, pp.59-60.
1267	Dodballapur		BNG	KN	*EC*, IX, DB.31.
1267	Mannargudi	Mannargudi	TJ	TN	*SII*, VI, 40.
1267	Mannargudi	Mannargudi	Tj	TN	*SII*, VI, 41.
1269	Tittandatanapuram	Tiruvadanai	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1926, 598.
1269	Enamadala	Guntur	GNT	AP	*SII*, IV, 935.
1270	Devipatnam	Ramanathapuram	RN	TN	*SII*, VIII, 405.
1272	Tirumanamedu	Lalgudi	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1960-61, 337.
1272	Avur	Tiruvannamalai	NA	TN	*SII*, XII, 236.
1275	Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 433.
1276	Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 434.
1277	Hale Aluru	Chamrajanagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 188.
1278	Hale Aluru	Chamrajanagar	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 195.
1279	Krishnapatnam	Nellore	NEL	AP	*NI*,Gudur,45; ARE, 1963-64, 78.
1279	Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 430.
1280	Narayanapura	Bellary	BLY	KN	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 234.
1282	Kayalpattinam	Tiruchendur	TN	TN	*ARE*, 1976-77, 250.
1283	Virachchilai	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	*IPS*, 393.
1284	Mannargudi	Mannargudi	TJ	TN	*SII*, VI, 47.
1285	Tirumuruganpundi	Avanasi	CBE	TN	*ARE*, 1915, 97.
1286	Pillaiyarpatti	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1935-36, 147.
1286	Pillaiyarpatti	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1935-36, 150.
1288	Dambal	Gadag	DWD	KN	*KI*, V, 46,p.185.
1289	Sarkar Periyapalayam	Perunturai	ERD	TN	*Avanam*, 6(1995), 12, pp.36-40.
1292	Tenmavur	Kulattur	PD	TN	*IPS*, 576.
1292	Bagali	Harappanahalli	BLY	KN	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 344.
1292	Tripurantakam	Markapur	PRK	AP	*SII*, X, 473.
1295	Tiruppangili	Lalgudi	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1938-39, 189.
1296	Siddarkal Nattam	Madurai	MD	TN	*IATR-CS*-1989 (1995), pp.390-91.
1297	Rayampuram	.	TP	TN	Tya.122.
1299	Alampur	Alampur	HYD	AP	*TI.* 1,46,p.88; *TI.* 2,p.135.

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1300	Tiruppalanam	Thanjavur	TJ	TN	*ARE*, 1927-28, 187.
1300	Paramangalam	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	*ARE*, 1937-38, 366.
1300	Hire Hasarur	Lingsugur	RCR	KN	*ARE*, 1957-58, 349.
1300	Ammayanayakanur	Nilakkottai	MD	TN	*ARE*, 1958-59, 489.
1300	Sultan's Battery	Wynad	KZK	KL	*ARE*, 1961-62, 134.
1300	Tuvarankurichi	Kulittalai	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1964-65, 296.
1300	Policcalur	Tambaram	CG	TN	*Avanam*,10(1999),22, p. 56.
1300	Padaviya (Sri L.)				*CTI*, II, pp. 18-20.
1300	Kalale	Nanjangud	MYS	KN	*EC*, III(n), Nanjangud,359.
1300	Pagan (Myanmar)				*EI*, VII,27, pp.197-198.
1300	Elkamvalasu	Dharapuram	CBE	TN	*Kalvettu* (TSDA),11, p. 15.
1300	Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	*SII*, VII, 129.
1300	Piranmalai	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	*SII*, VIII, 442.
1303	Katukuru		KMM	AP	*CITD*,pt.3, p.16-17; *ARE*, 1985-86, 45.
1304	Kurnool		KRN	AP	*EI*, XLII, 23A.
1305	Koyilpatti	Kulittalai	TP	TN	*ARE*, 1964-65, 286.
1305	Tarangampadi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	*SII*, IV, 399.
1307	Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	TN	*ARE*, 1939-40, 193.
1307	Honnekere	Holalkere	CDG	KN	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 137.
1309	Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 429.
1309	Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 431.
1310	Katukuru		KMM	AP	*CITD*, pt.3, p.18.
1310	Kocherlakota	Darsi	NEL	AP	*NI*, 1, Dr.35, p.340.
1322	Kurnool		KRN	AP	*EI*, XLII, 23B.
1323	Mudigonda	Kollegal	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Kollegal 97.
1331	Kottur	Hosur	DP	TN	*DKI*, 1974/7 (p.140).
1332	Samalapuram	Palladam	CBE	TN	*ARE*, 1977-78, 237.
1344	Rabbegamuwa			SLN	*UCR*, XVIII,1-2 (1960), pp.4-22.
1346	Danayakkankottai	Gopi	CBE	TN	*SII*, XXII, 442.
1353	Sadras	Chengal pattu	CG	TN	*ARE*, 1933, No. 104.
1355	Varadaraja Vagata	Hoskote	BNG	KN	*MAR*, 1919, p.83.
1358	Mottupalli	Bapatla	GNT	AP	*SII*, XXVI, 635.
1362	Kaivara	Chintamani	KLR	KN	*EC*, X, Ct.95.
1378	Anemadugu	Siddlaghatta	KLR	KN	*EC*, X, Sd.112.

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1382	Belur		HSN	KN	*EC*, V,pt.1, Belur 75.
1382	Beluru	Beluru	HSN	KN	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 171.
1389	Srimushnam	Chidamba ram	SA	TN	*ARE*, 1958-59, 360.
1398	Singanallur	Kollegal	MYS	KN	*EC*, IV(n), Kollegal 55.
1400	Kalutara (Sri L.)				*CTI*, I, pp.44-45.
1400	Valaramanikkam	Tirumayam	PD	TN	*IPS*, 1022.
1404	Harabi Kottanur	Kolar	KLR	KN	*EC*, X, Kl.73.
1405	Appapuram	Bapatla	GNT	AP	*ARE*, 1915, 402.
1427	Mastenahalli	Anekal	BNG	KN	*EC*, IX, An.64.
1427	Kaikini	Bhatkal	NK	KN	*KI*, I, p.110-113.
1430	Vriddhachalam	Vriddhacha lam	SA	TN	*ARE*, 1918, 91.
1430	Maragallu	Bowringpet	KLR	KN	*EC*, 10, Bp.72.
1451	Kasireddipalli-Gorantla road	Hindupur	ANT	KN	*ARE*, 1917, 818.
1502	Hulikunte	Maddagiri	TMK	KN	*EC*, XII, Maddagiri, 35.
1531	Animale	Kamalapur	CUD	AP	*ARE*, 1937-38, 200-202.
1531	Kilakkarai	Ramnad	RN	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 396.
1538	Gowrivaripalle	Hindupur	ANT	AP	*ARE*, 1912, 70.
1541	Taramangalam	Omalur	SL	TN	*SII*, VII, 21.
1545	Kilakkarai	Ramanatha puram	RN	TN	*SII*, XXIII, 398.
1549	Rayalcheruvu	Tadpatri	ANT	AP	*ARE*, 1958-59, 25.
1551	Peddamudiyam	Jammala madugu	CUD	AP	*SII*, XVI, 179.
1570	Pattanam	Palladam	CBE	TN	*SII*, XXVI, 222.
1620	Narayanavanam	Puttur	CTR	AP	*SII*, XVI, 315.
1628	Ballapurada pete		BNG	KN	*EC*, IX, Bangalore, 1.
1680	Lepaksi	Hindupur	ANT	AP	*ARE*, 1917-18, A18.
1698	?		KLR	KN	*EC*, XVII, 257.
?	Tirumalugandan-kottai	Mudukulat tur	RN	TN	*ARE*, 1931-32, 38.
?	?		SMG	KN	*EC*, VII, ci.21.
?	Halmidi	Bellary	BLY	KN	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 235.

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Appendix 4.2

Topographical List of the Merchant-guild Inscriptions

P. Shanmugam

Place	Taluk	Dist.	State	Year	Reference
Adki	Sedam	GLB	KN	1171	*ARE*, 1976-77, 135, 138-39.
Agarkhed	Indi	BJP	KN	1109	*SII*, XX, 71.
Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	0800	*IA*. VIII, pp. 287-88 (no.lix).
Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	0800	*SII*, XX, 463.
Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	1103	*KR*, 1953, 24.
Aihole	Hunkund	BJP	KN	1119	*BK*.I,pt.2,168.
Alampur	Alampur	MAH	AP	1182	*ARE*, 1959-60, 157.
Alampur	Alampur	HYD	AP	1299	*TI*.1,46, p.88; *TI*.2,p.135.
Alburu	Tiptur	TMK	KN	1205	*EC*, XII, Tiptur,43.
Alwandi	Koppal	RCR	KN	1204	*ARE*, 1964-65, 419.
Ammayanayakanur	Nilakkottai	MD	TN	1300	*ARE*, 1958-59, 489.
Anaulundava(Polan naruwa) (Sri L.)			SLN	1196	*EZ*. II, 38.
Anbil	Lalgudi	TP	TN	1235	*SII*, VIII, 198.
Anemadugu	Siddlaghatta	KLR	KN	1378	*EC*, X, Sd.112.
Animale	Kamalapur	CUD	AP	1531	*ARE*, 1937-38, 200-202.
Anuradhapura (Sri.L.)				1200	[See Chapter 6]
Anuradhapura				1200	*EZ*, I, pp. 177-82
Appapuram	Bapatla	GNT	AP	1405	*ARE*, 1915, 402.

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Arasanpalayam	Dharapuram	CBE	TN	1222	*ARE*, 1977-78, 225.
Arieshwar	Hangal	DWD	KN	1136	*ARE*, 1950-51, 43.
Arisikere	Arisikere	HSN	KN	1220	*EC*,V,pt.1,Arisikere, 77.
Aruppukkottai	Aruppuk kottai	RN	TN	1224	*ARE*, 1914, 406.
Avur	Tiruvanna malai	NA	TN	1272	*SII*, XII, 236.
Bagali	Harappana halli	BLY	KN	1292	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 344.
Bairedevaragudda	Beluru	HSN	KN	1190	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 554.
Ballapurada pete		BNG	KN	1628	*EC*, IX, Bangalore,1.
Banavara	Arisikere	HSN	KN	1188	*EC*,V,pt.1,Ak. 22.
Barus Loboe Toewa (Sumatra, Indonesia)				1088	*TBG*, LXXII, 1932, pp.314-32; *Avanam*, 4, pp. 116ff.
Basinikonda	Madanapalli	CTR	AP	1050	*ARE*, 1912, 342.
Bedkihal	Chikodi	BLG	KN	1000	*KI*, IV, 55.
Belagami (Baligami)	Shikarpur	SMG	KN	1094	*EC*, VII, Sh.94; *IA*, V, pp. 342-45.
Belagami (Baligami)	Shikarpur	SMG	KN	1150	*EC*, VII, Sh.118
Belathur	Heggada devankote	MYS	KN	1034	*EC*, III(n), Hg.59.
Belhod	Gadag	DWD	KN	1174	*SII*,XV,124. *KI*,5,37.
Belur		HSN	KN	1382	*EC*, V,pt.1, Belur,75.
Beluru	Beluru	HSN	KN	1382	*EC*, IX(n),Belur,171.
Bhalavani	Khanapur	SMG	KN	1170	*ARE*, 1972-73, 38.
Bharangi	Sorab	SMG	KN	1159	*EC*, 7, Sorab,328.
Bijapur	Bijapur	BJP	KN	1176	*SII*, XX, 165.
Budumuttava(Sri L.)				1150	*Avanam*,9, 5:4, p.37-39.
Cheranmadevi	Amba samudram	TN	TN	1036	*SII*, XIV, 143.
Cheranmadevi	Amba amudram	TN	TN	1055	*ARE*, 1916, 651.
Chikkayagate	Holalkere	CDG	KN	1208	*EC*, XI, Hk.124.
Chintapalle	Sattenepalle	GNT	AP	1240	*ARE*, 1934-35, 277.
Chittapur	Chittapur	KMM	AP	1158	*IAP*. Kn.38.
Cochin	Cochin	CN	KL	1000	*EI*, III,11,pp.67-68.
Dambal	Gadag	DWD	KN	1096	*IA*.X, pp. 185-90 (no. cxvi).
Dambal	Gadag	DWD	KN	1288	*KI*, V, 46,p.185.

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Danayakkankottai	Gopi	CBE	TN	1346	*SII*, XXII, 442.
Detiyamulla (Sri L.)				1150	*Avanam*,9,5:2,pp.34-35.
Devasthanada-hakkalu	Sorab	SMG	KN	1245	*EC*, 7, Sorab, 268.
Devipatnam	Ramanatha puram	RN	TN	1270	*SII*, VIII, 405.
Dhanaguru	Malavalli	MND	KN	1050	*EC*, VII(n), Ml.51.
Dharwar	Dharwar	DWD	KN	1206	*KI*, V,66,p.246-248; *SII*, XV, 232.
Dodballapur		BNG	KN	1267	*EC*, IX, DB.31.
Duggalapura	Tarikere	CMG	KN	1184	*EC*, VI, Tk.10.
Elkamvalasu	Dharapuram	CBE	TN	1300	*Kalvettu* (TSDA). 11,p. 15.
Enamadala	Guntur	GNT	AP	1269	*SII*, IV, 935.
Erode	Erode	ERD	TN	1100	*ARE*, 1976-77, 215.
Gabbur	Devadurga	RCR	KN	1200	*ARE*, 1960-61, 13.
Galtenpitiya (Sri L.)				1150	*Avanam*,9,5:3,pp.32-38.
Gangaikondachola-puram	Udaiyar palayam	TP	TN	0929	TSDA Seminar, pp. 52-57.
Golihalli	Khanapur	BLG	KN	1173	*KI*, V, 64, pp. 239-45.
Gowrivaripalle	Hindupur	ANT	AP	1538	*ARE*, 1912, 70.
Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	1146	*ARE*, 1959-60, 475.
Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	1200	*ARE*, 1959-60, 477.
Hagaritage	Shorapur	GLB	KN	1228	*ARE*, 1959-60, 474.
Hale Aluru	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 193.
Hale Aluru	Chamraja nagar	MYS	KN	1277	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 188.
Hale Aluru	Chamraja nagar	MYS	KN	1278	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 195.
Hale Nidnegila	Hirekarur	DWD	KN	1172	*KI*, IV, 14,pp.39-41.
Halebidu	Beluru	HSN	KN	1136	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 328.
Halebidu	Beluru	HSN	KN	1220	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 373.
Halmidi	Bellary	BLY	KN	?	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 235.
Hangal	Hangal	DWD	KN	1200	*KI*, V,105,p.307.
Hanmanhal	Dharward	DWD	KN	1099	*SII*, XI,pt.2, 148.
Harabi Kottanur	Kolar	KLR	KN	1404	*EC*, X, Kl.73.
Haragadde	Anekal	BNG	KN	1200	*EC*, IX, Anekal,67.
Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	KN	1162	*ARE*, 1917, 15.

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Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	KN	1162	*ARE*, 1917, 16.
Hemavati	Madakasira	ANT	AP	1180	*EI*, XXXI, 37 (p.269-276).
Hire Bevinur	Indi	BJP	KN	1124	*SII*, XX, 85.
Hire Bevinur	Indi	BJP	KN	1190	*SII*, XX, 175.
Hire Hasarur	Lingsugur	RCR	KN	1300	*ARE*, 1957-58, 349.
Hirehadagalli	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	1057	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 118.
Hodal	Aland	GLB	KN	1180	*ARE*, 1977-78, 126.
Holalu	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	1074	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 139.
Holalu	Hadagalli	BLY	KN	1178	*ARE*, 1914, 478.
Honnekere	Holalkere	CDG	KN	1307	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 137.
Honnur	Yelandur	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n),Yelandur 17.
Hulikera	Beluru	HSN	KN	1167	*EC*, IX(n), Bel 409.
Hulikere	Beluru	HSN	KN	1167	*EC*, V,pt.1, Belur 177.
Hulikunte	Maddagiri	TMK	KN	1502	*EC*, XII, Maddagiri, 35.
Hunuvinodu	Hosadurg	CDG	KN	1228	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 104.
Huyilgol	Gadag	DWD	KN	1166	*SII*, XV, 106.
Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	0962	*ARE*, 1937-38, 442.
Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	1055	*SII*, XXII, 80.
Jambai	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	1135	*SII*, XXII, 91.
Kaikini	Bhatkal	NK	KN	1427	*KI*, I, p.110-113.
Kaivara	Chintamani	KLR	KN	1362	*EC*, X, Ct.95.
Kalale	Nanjangud	MYS	KN	1300	*EC*, III(n), Nanjangud,359.
Kalasapakkam	Polur	NA	TN	1051	*ARE*, 1938-39, 291.
Kaliyampatti	Turaiyur	TP	TN	1000	*Avanam*,11,9, p.24.
Kalkeri	Hangal	DWD	KN	1243	*ARE*, 1949-50, 108.
Kallampatti	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	1157	*IPS*, 134.
Kallampatti	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	1190	*IPS*, 148.
Kallengere	Arisikere	HSN	KN	1142	*EC*, V, Arisikere 110.
Kallur	Manvi	RCR	KN	1153	*ARE*, 1961-62, 568.
Kalutara (Sri L.)				1400	*CTI*, I, pp.44-45.
Kamarasavalli	Udayar palayam	TP	TN	0978	Tya.159.
Kamarasavalli	Udayar palayam	TP	TN	1263	*ARE*, 1914, 88.

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Kamudi	Kamuti	RN	TN	1000	*ARE*, 1974-75, 96.
Kanchipuram	Kanchi puram	CG	TN	1018	*ARE*, 1955-56, 264.
Kandagala	Gundlupet	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, III(n), Gundlupet, 154.
Kandagala	Gundlupet	MYS	KN	1200	*EC*, III(n), Gundlupet, 153.
Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	1207	*SII*, XV, 156.
Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	1208	*SII*, XV, 157.
Kandgal	Hunkund	BJP	KN	1220	*SII*, XV, 164.
Karashanapalle		CTR	AP	1054	*ARE*, 1912, 321.
Kasireddipalli-Gorantla road	Hindupur	ANT	KN	1451	*ARE*, 1917, 818.
Kattageri	Badami	BJP	KN	1097	*IA*. VI, pp. 137-39.
Kattur	Ponneri	CG	TN	1100	*ARE*, 1912, 256.
Katukuru		KMM	AP	1303	*CITD*,pt.3, p.16-17, *ARE*, 1985-86, 45.
Katukuru		KMM	AP	1310	*CITD*,pt.3, p.18.
Kayalpattinam	Tiruchendur	TN	TN	1282	*ARE*, 1976-77, 250.
Kayampatti	Kulattur	PD	TN	1000	*IPS*, 1083.
Kempanapura	Chamraja nagar	MYS	KN	1054	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 146.
Kerehalli	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	1200	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 353.
Khadaklat	Chikodi	BLG	KN	1174	*ARE*, 1961-62, 488.
Khembavi	Shorapur	GLB	KN	1055	*ARE*, 1958-59, 645.
Kilakkarai	Ramnad	RN	TN	1531	*SII*, XXIII, 396.
Kilakkarai	Ramanatha puram	RN	TN	1545	*SII*, XXIII, 398.
Kocherlakota	Darsi	NEL	AP	1310	*NI*, 1, Dr.35, p.340.
Kodanganuru	Davangere	CDG	KN	1113	*EC*, XI, Davangere, 149.
Kodumbalur	Kulattur	PD	TN	1000	*IPS*, 82.
Kokatnur	Athani	BLG	KN	1235	*KI*, II, p.129-137.
Kolhapur	Kolhapur	KOL	MH	1135	*EI*, XIX, 4a (p.30-35).
Kolhar	Bagevadi	BJP	KN	1223	*SII*, XV, 169.
Kollam	Kozikkoodu	KZK	KL	1100	*SII*, VII, 162.
Kollegal	Kollegal	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n), Kollegal 2.
Konerirajapuram	Thanjavur	TJ	TN	0981	*SII*, XIX, 280.
Kottayam	Kottayam	KTM	KL	0849	TAS, II, 9.

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Kottayam	Kottayam	KTM	KL	1225	*EI*, IV, 41, pp.290-297.
Kottur	Hosur	DP	TN	1331	*DKI*, 1974/7 (p.140).
Kovilpatti	Kulittalai	TP	TN	1305	*ARE*, 1964-65, 286.
Koyilpatti	Kulittalai	TP	TN	1183	*ARE*, 1964-65, 288.
Krishnapatnam	Nellore	NEL	AP	1200	*NI*, 1, Gd. 39, p.410-13.
Krishnapatnam	Nellore	NEL	AP	1279	*NI, 1*, Gd.45; *ARE*, 1963-64, 78.
Kudatini	Bellary	BLY	KN	1207	*SII*, IX, 327.
Kudumiyamalai	Kulattur	PD	TN	1106	*IPS*, 125.
Kumaravayalur	Tiruchirappalli	TP	TN	1000	*ARE*, 1936-37, 138.
Kundavada	Davangere	CDG	KN	1218	*EC*, XI, Dv. 105.
Kunigalughatta	Honnali	SMG	KN	1211	*EC*, VII, Hl.91.
Kurnool		*KRN*	AP	1304	*EI*, XLII, 23A.
Kurnool		*KRN*	AP	1322	*EI*, XLII, 23B.
Kurugodu	Bellary	BLY	KN	1176	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 296.
Kurugodu	Bellary	BLY	KN	1177	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 297.
Kuruvagadde	Honnali	SMG	KN	1226	*EC*, VII, Honnali, 8.
Kuruvatti	Harapanahalli	BLY	KN	1195	*SII*, IX, 391.
Kuttalam	Tenkasi	TN	TN	0928	*SII*, XIX, 417.
Lakshmesvar	Shirhatti	DWD	KN	1118	*SII*, XX, 78.
Lepaksi	Hindupur	ANT	AP	1680	*ARE*, 1917-18, A18.
Malaiappanahalli	Kolar	KLR	KN	1052	*EC*, X, Kl. 19.
Mamadapur	Gokak	BLG	KN	1250	*EI*, XIX, 3, pp.19-30.
Mamballi	Yelandur	MYS	KN	1200	*EC*,IV(n),Yelandur,158.
Managoli	Basawana	BJP	KN	1161	*EI*, V, 3a, pp.9-23.
Mangala	Chamraj nagar	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n), Ch. 133.
Mannargudi	Mannargudi	TJ	TN	1267	*SII*, VI, 40.
Mannargudi	Mannargudi	TJ	TN	1267	*SII*, VI, 41.
Mannargudi	Mannargudi	TJ	TN	1284	*SII*, VI, 47.
Manur	Tirunelveli	TN	TN	1100	*SII*, XXII, 427-28.
Maragallu	Bowringpet	KLR	KN	1430	*EC*, 10, Bp.72.
Mastenahalli	Anekal	BNG	KN	1427	*EC*, IX, An.64.
Melnangavaram	Kulittalai	TP	TN	0900	*Avanam*,10,10, p.16-17.

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Mevundi	Mundargi	DWD	KN	1196	*SII*, XV, 210.
Mevundi	Mundargi	DWD	KN	1196	*SII*, XV, 211.
Miraj	Miraj	SAN	MH	1144	*EI*, XIX, 4b (p.35-41).
Motagapalli	Mulbagal	KLR	KN	1100	*EC*, X,pt.1, 247.
Mottupalli	Bapatla	GNT	AP	1244	*EI*, XII, p.188-97.
Mottupalli	Bapatla	GNT	AP	1358	*SII*, XXVI, 635.
Mudgal	Lingsugur	RCR	KN	1215	*ARE*, 1953-54, 253.
Mudigonda	Kollegala	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n), Kl.100.
Mudigonda	Kollegal	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, IV(n),Kollegal,101.
Mudigonda	Kollegal	MYS	KN	1323	*EC*, IV(n),Kollegal 97.
Mudlukoppalu	Krishnaraja-nagara	MYS	KN	1100	*EC*, V(n), Kn. 116.
Mudnur	Shorapur	GLB	KN	1218	*ARE*, 1960-61, 519.
Munisandai	Tirumayam	PD	TN	0927	*IPS*, 61.
Nagainallur	Tottiyam	TP	TN	1000	*Avanam*, 12, no.9, p.14.
Nagapattinam	Naga pattinam	TJ	TN	1100	*Avanam*,3, 19.
Narayanapura	Bellary	BLY	KN	1280	*EC*, IX(n),Bel 234.
Narayanavanam	Puttur	CTR	AP	1620	*SII*, XVI, 315.
Narttamalai	Kulattur	PD	TN	1056	*SII*, XVII, 389.
Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	1200	*Avanam*,3, 15:3
Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	1200	*Avanam*,3, 15.1.
Nattam	Nattam	MD	TN	1228	*Avanam*,3, 15.2
Neeragunda	Hosadurg	CDG	KN	1240	*EC*, XI, Holalkere, 121.
Nilagunda	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	1079	*SII*, IX, 141.
Nilgunda	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	1079	*SII*, IX, 141.
Nimbal	Indi	BJP	KN	1200	*ARE*, 1958-59, A2.
Nulageri	Hirekerur	DWD	KN	1109	*KI*, IV, 34.
Padaviya (Sri L.)				1200	*CTI*, I, pp.54-55.
Padaviya (Sri L.)				1200	*CTI*, II, pp. 19-20
Padaviya (Sri L.)				1300	*CTI*, II, pp. 18-20.
Pagan (Myanmar)				1300	*EI*, VII, 27, pp.197-198.
Paramangalam	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	1300	*ARE*, 1937-38, 366.
Pattanam	Palladam	CBE	TN	1570	*SII*, XXVI, 222.

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Peddamudiyam	Jammala madugu	CUD	AP	1551	*SII*, XVI, 179.
Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1231	*SII*, XXIII, 411.
Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1231	*SII*, XXIII, 412.
Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1235	*SII*, XXIII, 413.
Periyakulam	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1235	*SII*, XXIII, 414.
Peruvemba	Palaghat	PLG	KL	1100	*ARE*, 1939-40, 402.
Pillaiyarpatti	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	1286	*ARE*, 1935-36, 147.
Pillaiyarpatti	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	1286	*ARE*, 1935-36, 150.
Piranmalai	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	1300	*SII*, VIII, 442.
Polichehalur	Tambaram	CG	TN	1300	*Avanam*,10, (1999), 22,p.56.
Polonnaruwa(Sri L.)				1100	C*TI*, II, pp.9-12.
Polonnaruwa(Sri L.)				1150	*SII*, IV, 1396; *EZ*,2,40.
Punganur	Arcot	NA	TN	0976	*ARE*, 1940-41, 13.
Pura	Gubbi	TMK	KN	1225	*EC*, XII, Gubbi,11.
Rabbegamuwa			SLN	1344	UCR, XVIII,1-2 (1960), pp.4-22.
Ragimasalvada	Harapana halli	BLY	KN	1127	*SII*, IX,pt.1, 223.
Ramantali	Chirakkal	PLG	KL	0929	*ARE*, 1926, 474.
Rasipuram	Rasipuram	SL	TN	1231	*SLDI*, 169.
Rayalcheruvu	Tadpatri	ANT	AP	1549	*ARE*, 1958-59, 25.
Rayampuram		TP	TN	1297	Tya.122.
Sadras	Chengal pattu	CG	TN	1353	*ARE*, 1933, No. 104.
Salem	Salem	SL	TN	1000	*SII*, IV, 147.
Samalapuram	Palladam	CBE	TN	1332	*ARE*, 1977-78, 237.
Samuttirapatti	Nattam	MD	TN	1050	*Avanam*,2, 2.3, pp.6-8.
Sansi	Kudgol	DWD	KN	1144	*SII*, XX, 112.
Sarkar Periyapalayam	Perunturai	ERD	TN	1289	*Avanam*, 6 (1995), 12, pp.36-40.
Shiggaon		DWD	KN	1055	*EI*, XIII,p. 168. *KI*, I,pp.20-25.
Shiggaon		DWD	KN	1108	*KI*, I, pp.26-28.
Shirol	Gadag	DWD	KN	1121	*SII*, XI,pt.2, 172.
Siddarkal Nattam	Madurai	MD	TN	1296	*IA*TR-CS-1989 (1995), pp.390-91.
Singalantapuram	Musiri	TP	TN	1100	*ARE*, 1943-44, 237.

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Singanallur	Kollegal	MYS	KN	1398	*EC*, IV(n), Kollegal, 55.
Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1275	*SII*, XXIII, 433.
Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1276	*SII*, XXIII, 434.
Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1279	*SII*, XXIII, 430.
Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1309	*SII*, XXIII, 429.
Sinnamanur	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1309	*SII*, XXIII, 431.
Sirasangi	Saundatti	BLG	KN	1186	*KI*, I, pp.38-51.
Sivapuri	Tiruppattur	RN	TN	1136	*SII*, XIV, 235.
Somambudi	Kolar	KLR	KN	1180	*EC*, X,pt.1, Kolar 170.
Sravanabelagola		HSN	KN	1138	*EC*, II(n), 208.
Srimushnam	Chidambaram	SA	TN	1389	*ARE*, 1958-59, 360.
Srinivasanallur	Musiri	TP	TN	1000	*SII*, XIII, 26.
Sultan's Battery	Wynad	KZK	KL	1300	*ARE*, 1961-62, 134.
Suttur	Nanjangud	MYS	KN	1016	*EC*, III(n), Nanjangud, 213.
Takuapa (Thailand)				0900	*JMBRAS*, 22,pt.1, pp.25-30.
Talakad	Mukundapuram	CN	KL	1100	*ARE*, 1927, 358.
Tamaraippakkam	Chengam	NA	TN	1048	*ARE*, 1973-74, 173.
Taramangalam	Omalur	SL	TN	1541	*SII*, VII, 21.
Tarangampadi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	1305	*SII*, IV, 399.
Telsang	Athani	BLG	KN	1147	*KI*, II, pp,79-85.
Tenkarai	Periyakulam	MD	TN	1142	*SII*, XIV, 251.
Tenmavur	Kulattur	PD	TN	1292	*IPS*, 576.
Terdal	Jamkhandi	BJP	KN	1123	*KI*, V, 21,pp.75-83.
Terdal	Jamkhandi	BJP	KN	1181	*KI*, V, 98, pp. 296-99; *IA*, XIV, pp. 14-26.
Tirukkannapuram	Nannilam	TJ	TN	1189	*ARE*, 1922, 505.
Tirukkodikaval	Kumbakonam	TJ	TN	1200	*ARE*, 1930-31, 46.
Tirukkoyilur	Tirukkoyilur	SA	TN	1300	*SII*, VII, 129.
Tirumalai	Sivaganga	RN	TN	1233	*ARE*, 1924, 10.
Tirumalugandan-kottai	Mudukulattur	RN	TN	?	*ARE*, 1931-32, 38.
Tirumanamedu	Lalgudi	TP	TN	1272	*ARE*, 1960-61, 337.
Tirumanturai	Perambalur	TP	TN	1206	Tya.126.

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Tirumuruganpundi	Avanasi	CBE	TN	1285	*ARE*, 1915, 97.
Tiruppalanam	Thanjavur	TJ	TN	1300	*ARE*, 1927-28, 187.
Tiruppangili	Lalgudi	TP	TN	1295	*ARE*, 1938-39, 189.
Tiruppurambiyam	Kumba konam	TJ	TN	1001	*SII*, VI, 20.
Tiruvalisvaram	Amba samudram	TN	TN	1225	*ARE*, 1916, 360.
Tiruvellarai	Tiruchirap palli	TP	TN	1000	*SII*, XIII, 28.
Tiruvidaimarudur	Kumba konam	TJ	TN	1014	*SII*, XIX, 4.
Tiruvidandai	Chengal pattu	CG	TN	1004	*ARE*, 1910, 273.
Tiruvilakkudi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	1000	*SII*, XIX, 170.
Tiruvilakkudi	Mayavaram	TJ	TN	1000	*SII*, XIX, 459.
Tittagudi	Vriddhacha lam	SA	TN	1168	*SII*, VIII, 291.
Tittandatanapuram	Tiruvadanai	RN	TN	1269	*ARE*, 1926, 598.
Tripurantakam	Markapur	*KRN*	AP	1245	*SII*, X, 304.
Tripurantakam	Markapur	PRK	AP	1292	*SII*, X, 473.
Tuvarankurichi	Kulittalai	TP	TN	1300	*ARE*, 1964-65, 296.
Ukkirankottai	Tirunelveli	TN	TN	1000	*EI*, XXIII,45-D, p.287.
Vadakurangaduturai	Papanasam	TJ	TN	1263	*Avanam*,10 (1999),24,pp.59-60.
Vahalkada (Sri L.)				1200	*CTI*. I, pp.53-54. *CTI*, II, pp.7-9.
Valaramanikkam	Tirumayam	PD	TN	1400	*IPS*, 1022.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	0938	*ARE*, 1943-44, 261.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	0995	*ARE*, 1943-44, 247.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	1000	*ARE*, 1964-65, 308.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	1207	*ARE*, 1943-44, 264.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	1227	*ARE*, 1943-44, 276.
Valikandapuram	Perambalur	TP	TN	1233	*ARE*, 1943-44, 268.
Varadaraja Vagata	Hoskote	BNG	KN	1355	MAR, 1919, p.83.
Vedaranyam	Tirutturaipp undi	TJ	TN	1000	*SII*, XIX, 216.
Velliyanai	Karur	TP	TN	1000	*Avanam*,11,10, p.25.
Velpuru	Sattenepalli	GNT	AP	1247	*SII*, X, 314.
Vembatti	Bhavani	ERD	TN	1074	*ARE*, 1976-77, 213.
Vengalam		SA	TN	1251	Tya.162.

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Vibhutipura	Kolar	KLR	KN	1198	*EC*, X, Kolar 131.
Viharehinna(Sri L.)				1150	*Avanam*,9, 5:1,pp.33-34.
Virachchilai	Tirumayyam	PD	TN	1283	*IPS*, 393.
Viralur	Polur	NA	TN	1014	*ARE*, 1912, 349.
Virinchipuram	Vellore	NA	TN	1307	*ARE*, 1939-40, 193.
Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	1090	*SII*, X, 211.
Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	1090	*SII*, X, 651.
Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	1090	*SII*, XXVI, 103.
Vishakapatnam	Vishaka patnam	VSP	AP	1250	*SII*, XXVI, 101.
Vriddhachalam	Vriddhacha lam	SA	TN	1430	*ARE*, 1918, 91.
Warangal	Warangal	WAR	AP	1228	*IAP*. Wg.63.
Yargal(Bhujurkh)	Sindgi	BJP	KN	1098	*SII*, XX, 63.
Yemmiganur	Hirekarur	DWD	KN	1168	*KI*, IV, 15, p.41.
?		KLR	KN	1698	*EC*, XVII, 257.
?		SMG	KN	?	*EC*, VII, ci.21.

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